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### Florence Nightingale's autobiographical notes: A critical edition of BL Add. 45844 (England)

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**FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES:**

**A Critical Edition of BL Add. 45844**

by

Heather Kelly  
Bachelor of Arts, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1997

Thesis  
Submitted to the Department of Religion and Culture  
In partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the Master of Arts degree  
Wilfrid Laurier University  
1998

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**Canada**

I have seen His face, the Crown of glory inseparably united  
with the Crown of thorns--giving forth the same Light.

*Florence Nightingale, BL Add. MS 45844, July 28, 1867*

Oh teach health, teach health, teach health, to rich & poor,  
to educated, & if there be any uneducated oh teach it all the  
more.

*Florence Nightingale, BL Add. MS 45844, early 1900s*

The following thesis is a contribution to the ongoing work study of Florence Nightingale (1820-1910) and the mountain of writing she left at her death. It provides, for the first time, a critical edition of British Museum MS BL Add 45844, ff.1 to 242. This manuscript contains 319 of Nightingale's extant personal notes, which she made between approximately 1860 and 1902. They range in length from a few words on a scrap of paper to full pages of her reflections. They are reproduced in this edition in the same format in which they appear in the manuscript. I have presented them in this form in order to preserve, as faithfully as possible, Nightingale's thoughts and feelings as she wrote them. The edition is introduced by a brief biography of Nightingale with emphasis on the relationship to these notes.

## Acknowledgements

There are many people who have helped me throughout the process of writing this thesis and to all of them I extend my thanks. I particularly wish to thank Prof. Lynn MacDonald for the loan of the film, from which this thesis was produced. Thanks go also to Catherine Huggins for her assistance and to my friends and fellow students for their support.

I also extend thanks to the members of my thesis committee. To Prof. Carol Duncan for providing me with new and exciting perspectives for my research; to Dr. Michel Desjardins, whose insights and advice have long been beneficial; to Dr. Rockney Jacobsen, who became chairperson on very short notice; and to Dr. Paul Tiessen whose detailed comments were invaluable. And finally to Dr. Peter Erb, who has endured the writing of this thesis with humour and kindness and whose support, from editorial advice to checking the original manuscript in the British Library, has made this thesis a reality.

I dedicate this thesis to my daughter Jessica Whitmore, whose unflagging faith in me has been a continual source of inspiration.



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## -Introduction-

Florence Nightingale's name has become a household word in the twentieth century, chiefly because of the part she played in the Crimean conflict in the middle of the last century. During that war, and for several years after, she was a very visible figure in the British media. From the 1860s until her death in 1910, that presence remained strong among government officials and the ruling classes, generally because of her contributions to several Royal Commissions, her efforts in the areas of Workhouse and Poor Law Reform, and her never-ending battles with both the War Office and the India Office. Among the general population, however, she was primarily a legend; confined to her home due to illness, her public appearances were curtailed and she was seldom seen abroad. That legend continued even after the 1890s, when she drifted into introspection. Despite the fact that by 1889 her eyesight was nearly gone, her later notes reflect a mind in full vigour.

Typical for great Victorian figures, a two volume, 1000 page biography of her life and work appeared in 1913, only three years after her death. The piece, by Sir Edward Tyas Cook (1857-1919) and entitled simply *The Life of Florence*

Oxford-educated journalist and writer. He was connected with the *Pall Mall Gazette* and served as editor to both the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Daily News*. His published works include a biography of John Ruskin and a volume on the Boer War. The Cook volume was the beginning of a number of hagiographical treatments. Such approaches were anathema to the early Bloomsbury biographer Lytton Strachey. In Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*<sup>2</sup>, Nightingale was included in a scathing examination of four major Victorian figures. Strachey's satirical commentary in this work was aimed directly at Cardinal Manning, the prominent Catholic convert, in one section, at General Charles Gordon, hero of Khartoum in another, and Dr. Thomas Arnold, reformer of the English education system, in a third. In his section on Nightingale, his mocking characterisations were directed more toward those around Nightingale (her mother, her adversaries in government circles) than at Nightingale herself.

Little more appears to have been done until Mrs. Cecil Woodham-Smith's massive and detailed volume in 1950<sup>3</sup>, which

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Edward Cook, *The Life of Florence Nightingale* (London: MacMillan, 1913).

<sup>2</sup> Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1918).

<sup>3</sup> Cecil Woodham-Smith, *Florence Nightingale* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950).

again, such a hagiography called for a response; F.B. Smith, in 1977, wrote of another side of Nightingale, a less saintly side, as did George Pickering in 1974, including her in his book *Creative Malady*<sup>4</sup>, an analysis of the way in which several famous people (Darwin, Freud and Proust, among others) used illness as a means to an end. More recently popular attention came to bear on Nightingale, with the study by the prominent writer Elizabeth Longford, who numbered Nightingale as one of the eminent Victorian women in her 1981 edition of the same name, alongside George Eliot, Annie Besant and others<sup>5</sup>.

The 1980s marked a new interest in Nightingale scholarship. By the end of the decade there had appeared several collections of letters, Sue Goldie's *I Have Done My Duty* and Mary Keele's *Florence Nightingale in Rome* among others<sup>6</sup>. As well, volumes of essays relating to nursing

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<sup>4</sup> George Pickering, *Creative Malady* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Longford, *Eminent Victorian Women* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981).

<sup>6</sup> See for example, Sue Goldie, *I Have Done My Duty: Florence Nightingale in the Great War, 1854-56* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); Mary Keele (ed.) *Florence Nightingale in Rome: Letters written by Florence Nightingale in Rome in the Winter of 1847-1848* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1981); Nancy Boyd, *Three Victorian Women Who Changed Their World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981); Martha Vicinus and Bea Nergaard, *Ever Yours: Selected Letters* (London: Virago, 1989); Anthony Sattin, *Letters From Egypt: A Journey On The Nile 1849-50* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1987); Vincent Quinn and John Prest, *Dear Miss*

praise, all these works have one fact in common. As a whole they tend to focus on Nightingale's Crimean years (1854-1856), at the expense of the rest of her active life. Strachey had early noted that "her adventure in the Crimea. . .[was] *only the fulcrum*" (italics mine). Her "adventure" was indeed important, and that importance undoubtedly influenced the work she carried on for the next thirty years. However, it served more to solidify and refine her goals than to form them, and it gave her a clear idea of the obstacles she would encounter and the inner reserves she must develop in order to succeed.

Another difficulty with the work done to date is that very little of it has been concerned with close textual analysis. At her death, Nightingale left masses of personal correspondence and notes to be disposed of by her executors. She was a prolific letter-writer, keeping up correspondence with her extended family and friends, and connections in government circles, the church, nursing establishments, and elsewhere. She wrote reports, lectures, recommendations to government commissions, books on hospital administration, nursing, sanitation and on India, as well as religious and

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*Nightingale* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987).

<sup>7</sup> Vern & Bonnie Bullough and Marietta P. Stanton, *Florence Nightingale and Her Era: A Collection of New Scholarship* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990); Monica E. Baly, *Florence Nightingale and the Nursing Legacy* (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

on the life of a wealthy young woman in nineteenth century England. These materials eventually found their way into the British Museum and the Wellcome Institute among other places. For a full understanding of Florence Nightingale there remains the massive project of editing most of these papers<sup>8</sup>. The lack of closely edited textual material promises soon to be alleviated by the Nightingale Project under the direction of Prof. Lynn MacDonald of the University of Guelph.

The following thesis is a contribution to the ongoing work of discovering the woman behind the mountain of writing. It gives, for the first time, a critical edition of British Museum manuscript BL Add 45844, ff.1 to 242. This manuscript contains 319 of Nightingale's extant personal notes, which she made between approximately 1860 and 1902. I began this edition initially because of the insights it offers us into Nightingale's religious life, particularly her experiences of the evolving nature of God's intervention in her life as well as direct instruction through several locutions. As I began to work closely with the manuscript it became immediately clear that these notes indicate more locutions than has usually been noted. As one

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<sup>8</sup> For a full description of Nightingale's published work see W.J. Bishop and Sue Goldie, *A Bio-bibliography of Florence Nightingale* (London: Dawsons), 1962 and *The British Museum Catalogue of Additions To The Manuscripts* (London: Trustees of the British Museum London, 1953).

of Nightingale's inner life and her experience of religion is readily apparent; it offers insights into her personal relationships as well as her (sometimes peculiar) exegetical techniques.

#### Florence Nightingale: The Early Years

Florence Nightingale was born in Florence, Italy<sup>9</sup>, on 12 May 1820 and, in 1825, moved with her family to Embley Park in Hampshire, England, the family's main residence. The family was early polarized into two very different, and often opposed, camps because Florence's father wanted the two girls educated in Latin, Greek, German, French and philosophy, while mother Fanny's main concern was with the family's social position. The young Florence felt herself alone, an outsider despite her ever-present extended family. She recorded in private notes that before the age of six she was aware that she did not fit; she was afraid that others would notice her difference, and so avoided people as much

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<sup>9</sup> Florence was an unusual name for a nineteenth century girl, but the Nightingale's had a penchant for naming their daughters after the cities in which they were born; thus Florence, and her elder sister, Parthenope (the Greek name for Naples). For further details, see Woodham-Smith, 7. Further biographical details on Nightingale throughout the paper are taken from Woodham-Smith unless otherwise noted. Additional biographical information was obtained from Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (Eds.) *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith and Elder, 1885-1900).

turned to daydreams in which she cast herself as a heroine. As she grew to adulthood Nightingale developed a sense of extreme shame over these episodes and, by 1849, had determined to "'crucify' her sin [by] devot[ing] the 7th of each month. . .to self-examination"<sup>11</sup>. Her notes show evidence that she continued to be concerned about this tendency, and to feel a certain sense of guilt for her pride<sup>12</sup>. Nightingale also possessed a tendency to be somewhat sanctimonious, a characteristic that is also reflected in her notes and letters. She wrote to her mother from the Isle of Wight that "[She hoped] our matutinal moments may not have been quite unprofitably spent, though we may not have improved our minds as we ought"<sup>13</sup>. She was probably not surprised when, several months before her 17th

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<sup>10</sup> In an early private note Nightingale claimed that "she had an obsession that she was not like other people. She was a monster" (Woodham-Smith, 12).

<sup>11</sup> Woodham-Smith, 55.

<sup>12</sup> While begging God for humility and patience was not an unusual request for a 19th century religious person, the frequency of the prayer in Nightingale's private notes may indicate that she worried throughout her life about what Woodham-Smith calls her "shameful secret". In f.150, dated 14 October, 1895, she wrote "If we are going on, with some little secret sin, pretending to be good, that is not walking in God's light, it is walking in darkness". In the summer of 1896 she wrote "Come in, Lord Jesus, come into my heart now, with Thy. . .modesty[,] humility [and] shame facedness" (f.161); see also ff.32, 55, 66v, 68v, 70, 76v, 80v, 81, 85, 93, 112, 113 and 114v.

<sup>13</sup> Woodham-Smith, 9.



to leave for an extended visit to the continent, Nightingale received her first call from God.

### Calls From God

It has been commonly accepted that Nightingale received roughly four such calls in her life. Pickering, following Woodham-Smith, gives four dates: 1837, 1853, 1854 and 1861<sup>14</sup>. Longford mentions only two, the first in 1837 and another at the Convent of the Trinità de'Monti in Rome in 1848<sup>15</sup>. Sattin writes that she recorded three more calls in her diary while she was in Egypt with the Bracebridges from 1848 to 1850<sup>16</sup>. An examination of her private notes indicates that in combination with those noted above there may have been at least twelve or thirteen of these calls, one, perhaps, a vision of the Passion. She mentions these locutions frequently throughout the first part of the manuscript; in f.6, dated May 7 1867, she wrote, "It is 30 years since I called thee unto my service[,] Embley February 7 1837", and "It is 15 years to-day since I called thee to the perfection of my service (to be a Saviour). . .Tapton

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<sup>14</sup> Pickering, 100; cf. Woodham-Smith, 18; Vicinus and Nergaard, 17.

<sup>15</sup> Longford, 87, 90. In f.100v, dated September 1899, Nightingale was reflecting on death. She mentions "Mère Ste Colombi--Sacré Coeur", likely referring to her visit to the Trinità in Rome.

<sup>16</sup> Sattin, 17.

"entered" her, cases which could be interpreted as communications from God, or as God's working directly through her: "I entered thee at Harley St. August 12, 1853. . .[, at] Scutari November 4, 1854. . . [,and] with Sidney Herbert". F.7 appears to describe a vision as well as adding a further date, July 18, 1865,

July 28 6:30 pm 1867?<sup>1</sup>  
I have seen His face  
the Crown of glory inseparably united with the Crown  
of thorns--giving forth the same Light

Three times he has called me  
once to His service Feb 7 1837  
once to be a Deliverer May 7 1852  
once to the Cross July 28 1865

It seems clear that the four or five locutions usually noted comprise only a partial picture of Nightingale's experience of calls from God. Based on her notes and the reports of her biographers, it would seem that there were at least eleven calls: 1837, 1848, three in Egypt between 1849-50, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1861, 1865 and 1867. It is quite likely that the full extent and importance of the locutions will not be recognized until such time as all her writing has been edited; it is conceivable that Nightingale heard these voices continually throughout the early part of her life<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Mention of communication with God appears in lists of important events, including dates, in folios 4, 6, 7, 8, 21, 64, and possibly 12; in folio 45v she refers to God's speaking to her, but without giving precise dates or occasions; folio 35v is the first of several indirect references to communication with God that appear in question and response form between Nightingale and God, the next

Nightingale's sense of her relationship with God changed, a change reflected in her notes. Throughout her early years, before and during her active working life, she clearly felt that she was working under God's direct command. In the spring of 1888, she began to write about entering into communion with Christ. As noted above, she had written as early as 1865 that she had been "called to the cross", giving the sense of a highly individualized, personal relationship. She wrote, in f.54 (dated April 1891), that "I had only self at C[laydon]", which suggests that, to her, God had indicated the direction her life must take, then left her to go about accomplishing the work on her own. Acutely aware of her own sense of failure, by March 1892 Nightingale wrote:

O Infinite Love. . .make Thyself known to me. . .I must get out of this mess alone. . .Wilt Thou take command altogether?. . . What an honour to be employed by God as His fellow worker. If He stops employing me, then I know *He is working on*, & perhaps He will employ me again. (f.65)

By the end of the same year she wrote, in f.86, "Silence-- such a silence", and in f.131 thirteen months later, she was

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appearing in folio 39. In folio 51, after stating that "He has found me. . .I have never sought Him" she writes that "He found me when E. did not light the fire"; folio 88 contains the statement "God: I have conducted you all your life with mine own hand" followed by a reply from Nightingale; this form appears again in folio 93: "O God: I am here, my sinful child"; finally, folio 226 records how God turned her from her natural inclination to convent life toward her work in the Crimea.

dwelleth in me". Based on the notes in the manuscript, it appears that the locutions ceased at approximately the same time as her activities slowed down.

### Travels and Early Relationships

In September 1837 the Nightingales left for France and until 1839 they travelled extensively throughout Europe. On 27 February 1838 they arrived in Florence, at this time the social and intellectual centre of Italy. They took an elaborate suite and entered into the social tumult; it was here that Nightingale developed a passion for opera and also found herself fascinated by the cause of Italian freedom and its leaders, particularly in the case of Jean Charles Leonard De Sisimondi (1773-1842), the Swiss aristocrat and historian. Sisimondi was married the former Miss Allen, whose family Nightingale's mother had known since childhood. Thus, common interests as well as family connections brought the Nightingales into contact with him, and possibly stimulated Nightingale's interest in political life. The Nightingales left Florence and arrived at Geneva<sup>18</sup> at the

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<sup>18</sup> Geneva, in these years, was full of political refugees, the result of Austrian aggression: scientists, philosophers, writers, all had fled from the Austrian government in Italy and were living in exile. The Nightingales' being in large part academics, their association with Sisimondi naturally would have brought the two parties into contact.

were in their element. Nightingale immediately forgot about dinners and dances in the midst of political and intellectual exiles. Their stay in Geneva was abruptly ended by the approach of French troops, who were demanding the return of Louis Napoleon. The proximity of conflict created an intense impression on the young woman; she wrote to her cousin, in November 1838, that "[a]t home in England changes and revolutions are like storms one only hears"<sup>19</sup>.

The next stop for the family was Paris, where her father determined to spend several months. Here Nightingale met Mary Clarke, who was to become a lifelong friend and confidante, and her companion Julius Mohl, whom she was later to marry. Clarke (d.1883) was a popular salon hostess and friend of the intelligentsia. Noted for her wit and candour (and her rather odd appearance, tiny as a child with a mass of curls), she was a protege of Mme. Recamier (the long-time companion of French writer Francois de Chateaubriand and a fellow opponent of Napoleon III). Clarke and the Nightingales became quite close, and they nicknamed her "Clarkey". Much work has yet to be done on Mary Clarke and her influence on the political and philosophical history of 19th century Europe. It is quite possible that Nightingale's association with the Mohls stimulated an interest in the east, and indirectly influenced her

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<sup>19</sup> Woodham-Smith, 19.

1876) was a famed German Orientalist. Relocating to Paris in 1823, he had attained the position of professor of Persian at the College de France by 1847. His breadth of interest and knowledge resulted in his having had significant influence on all aspects of eastern study in the French academy. He served as president of the Societé Asiatique, and a collection of his annual reports to the society, published in 1879, provide a history of the progress of Oriental studies in France during his tenure. That Mohl was an important influence on her life is clear; his name appears in f.236, where she refers to him as "Prof Mohl the greatest philosopher teaching all the Eastern languages to write a history of God", and again in the following folio, where she quotes him as saying "Religion is not logic". Rounding out this friendship was Charles Claude Fauriel (1772-1844), the French historian, philologist and critic. He was a member of the literary circle of Auteuil and, like Sismondi, an intimate friend of Mme Stael. His contribution to the academy in France lay in his emphasis upon the importance of studying philosophy in its historical context. Mary Clarke's relationship with Mohl and Fauriel provided Nightingale with examples of intimate friendships between men and women that contained no hint of scandal, the sort of friendship which was paralleled after 1848, by her own connection with Sidney Herbert.

Parisian friends, or perhaps it was due to her own internal conflicts, but by the time of the family's return to England, in April 1839, Nightingale was very concerned that a full two years had passed since God had spoken to her, and she reasoned that her behaviour during that time had made her unworthy; just before she returned home, she decided that to become worthy she would have to give up her "desire to shine in society"<sup>20</sup>.

### The Question of Illness

Upon her return, however, she once again lost sight of her aspirations to serve God. Her mother and her aunt, Mrs. Nicholson, rented an entire floor of the Carlton Hotel for the season, the Nightingale sisters were presented to the Queen on her birthday in May, and the summer passed in a whirl of social activity. During this time Nightingale became physically ill because of the increasing frustration she felt with life at home, one instance of a pattern of illness that would be a lifelong pattern for herself and her sister. Pickering discusses her illness at length in *Creative Malady*, stating that she suffered from a mental complaint, a "psychoneurosis with a purpose"<sup>21</sup>. Throughout her early life, Nightingale became ill whenever she was

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<sup>20</sup> Woodham-Smith, 25.

<sup>21</sup> Pickering, 165.

was with her family's refusal to bend to her will, she often falling ill in response to their anger over one or another of her decisions, such as when she refused Henry Nicholson's marriage proposal. Health usually returned when she got her way, or when the family accepted her decision. Diagnosed with neurasthenia<sup>22</sup> shortly after her return from the Crimea, she was advised to rest. Following her physician's advice allowed her to refuse visitors who might waste her time (particularly her sister and mother), providing the isolation needed to accomplish her work, but not preventing her working long hours to produce her volumes of notes and suggestions<sup>23</sup>. In this sense her illness was "protective". Pickering also points to another result of Nightingale's physical incapacity, that her workers had to come to her, thereby increasing her power especially when those workers were government officials. He feels that "the cause of Miss Nightingale's illness was the unresolved conflict between

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<sup>22</sup> Described as: "A condition of weakness or exhaustion of the nervous system, giving rise to various forms of mental and bodily inefficiency. The term covers an ill-defined, motley group of symptoms, which may be either general and the expression of derangement of the entire system, or local, limited to certain organs; hence the terms cerebral, spinal, cardiac, and gastric neurasthenia" (Osler, *The Principles and Practices of Medicine* 9th edition (New York and London: Appleton, 1920)).

<sup>23</sup> In one of her lists, folio 12 dated August 1868, Nightingale records that it was "11 years ago since I was taken ill with the illness from which I have never risen again".



her from doing so"<sup>24</sup> and I agree with this. He implies, however, that Nightingale had control of her illness, that she could turn it on or off at will as it suited her purposes. If, indeed, Nightingale's illness was such a mental illness, I believe it would have been entirely beyond her ability to control.

Nightingale's illness is also discussed in the collection *Florence Nightingale And Her Era*<sup>25</sup>, in an essay by Shirley Veith. Veith suggests that Nightingale may have been suffering from a form of autoimmune disease called systemic lupus erythematosus (SLE), which would perhaps account for her contracting measles at the age of 32 as well as many of the complaints of her later life, such as "cutaneous, arthritic, psychological and cardiopulmonary symptoms"<sup>26</sup>. Others have suggested that, as the nature of her illness changed as she grew older, from brief attacks of heart palpitations and weakness to chronic debilitating ailments that kept her bedridden for half her life, she was

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<sup>24</sup> Pickering, 167.

<sup>25</sup>*Florence Nightingale and Her Era: A Collection of New Scholarship*, ed. by Vern and Bonnie Bullough and Marietta P. Stanton (New York and London: Garland Publishing, INC., 1990).

<sup>26</sup> Bullough, 80. Nightingale, as well as her doctors, was suprised at her having contracted measles, having had this illness only 18 months earlier. Veith suggests that the "eruptions" were misdiagnosed as measles and that they were possibly symptomatic of the more serious illness, which was unknown at that time.

this hardly likely in a woman as driven as Nightingale but it not outside the realm of possibility.

At several points after her return from the Crimea, Nightingale was convinced that she would not live much longer, and in fact in the summer of 1857, she became so ill that her friend Harriett Martineau updated her obituary notices in preparation for the end<sup>27</sup>. Her doctors told her to rest but she insisted that without her the work of reform would be lost; however she was so certain that death was imminent that she began to discuss funeral and burial arrangements with Parthe and wrote "personal remembrances" to several of her friends and colleagues, to be delivered by her sister "after I am dead"<sup>28</sup>.

#### Precision and Mathematics

The cure, in 1839, was achieved by Aunt Mai. Searching for an occupation that would satisfy her need for intellectual challenge and a way to make herself worthy to serve God, Nightingale had decided she wanted to study mathematics. Her family objected vehemently and only the intervention of Aunt Mai<sup>29</sup> enabled Nightingale to spend six

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<sup>27</sup> Woodham-Smith, 210.

<sup>28</sup> Woodham-Smith, 215.

<sup>29</sup> Mai Smith (1798-1889), younger sister of W.E.N., was devoted to Nightingale. In September 1855, she travelled east to assist her niece at Scutari and, when Nightingale collapsed

interest in mathematical precision foreshadowed her later fascination with the significance of statistics, as did her response to the operas of Florence: each time she attended an opera, she scrupulously wrote out and compared the score, libretto and performance with those of all the previous offerings. Her interest in mathematics as a precise, universal constant is also evidenced in her correspondence. In a letter to Cardinal Manning dated June 30, 1852, discussing her confusion over conversion to the Catholic church, she wrote,

The reason why every body [sic] agrees about Euclid is that we all go out from the same premises. We all agree upon the twelve axioms. [sic] the three Postulates, the Definitions &c. But in this case we do not agree upon the premises--& therefore it is of no avail going on to conclusions<sup>30</sup>.

In her private notes one sees the same tendency. She often records in precise detail the numbers of years passed from events and locutions, as well as the time various tasks took to complete<sup>31</sup>.

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in August 1857 and declared herself to be on her deathbed, Aunt Mai again rushed to her side. There she remained, neglecting husband and family until the summer of 1860, when she returned home to plan her daughter's wedding. Mai Smith's leaving resulted in a rift between the two that was not reconciled until 1881.

<sup>30</sup> *Letters to Henry E. Manning* Ed. by Peter C. and Elizabeth J. Erb (forthcoming).

<sup>31</sup> See ff.2, 4v, 6, 8, 12, 13 and 21, dated between 1864 and August 1872, which are composed mainly in the following form:

The next few years brought Nightingale more and more into intellectual society and circles where she could debate politics, religion, and history. During the early 1840s, Nightingale became deeply concerned with the suffering she saw around her and realized that her calling somehow involved her helping to alleviate this suffering. By 1843 she had begun to spend much of her time nursing the sick poor in nearby villages. She was also filled with anxiety because of the increasing frequency of her "trance-like states". In June 1844 she met Dr. Ward Howe<sup>32</sup>, who advised her to follow her heart, regardless of how her actions would be received. The state of hospitals in the mid nineteenth

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	[13 years since I went to 1 Harley St
10	" " " began at the W.O (came back from Crimea (began with S[idney]
9	" " " have been ill
5	" " " Sidney Herbert's death]

F.11, dated 2 August 1868, is subtitled "(7 years ago.)", referring to Sidney Herbert's death. In addition to the attention to detail mentioned above, Nightingale appears to have been fascinated by the number three. She described her life by 1864 as a series of three wins and three losses (f.2); in f.6 she wrote that God had entered her three times, which was repeated, in a slightly different form, in the note following. In 1867, after mention of Harley St. and Scutari, she wrote that "those two were exactly 3 years. Like our Saviour's life" (f.8), an idea repeated in ff.21 and 162 (dated August 1872 and 25-26 August 1896 respectively). In f.29 she wrote, "Almost every 3 years my life disfigured, transfigured, altogether changed by failure".

<sup>32</sup> Dr. Ward Howe, American physician and philanthropist. His wife Julia (1819-1910), an American suffragist and reformer, is perhaps a more familiar name, being the composer of the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*.

prostitutes, women completely untrained for their duties. None of this, however, proved a deterrent to Nightingale who, by Christmas 1844, announced that she wished to begin training as a nurse in the Salisbury hospital, an announcement that precipitated another major fight with her family, over the direction of her education. Unable to overcome their objections, she began to study secretly. But the double life this occasioned had physical consequences, and in the fall she once again fell ill. She was sent to family friends, Charles and Selina Bracebridge, to convalesce in Italy and while there she met Mary Stanley, Sidney Herbert and his wife Elizabeth. The Bracebridges were to become important figures in Nightingale's life, eventually accompanying her to the Crimea and supporting her later reform work. These people, Herbert especially, were to have an enormous impact on Nightingale's life in the future, Herbert as a staunch friend and supporter, Stanley as a difficult opponent<sup>33</sup>.

#### Nightingale and Sidney Herbert

Sidney Herbert (1810-1861) was one of Nightingale's most important allies during the first part of her career,

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<sup>33</sup> For more on this period of Nightingale's life, see: Mary Keele (ed.) *Florence Nightingale in Rome: Letters written by Florence Nightingale in Rome in the Winter of 1847-1848*. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1981).

the thirteenth Earl of Pembroke, he was wealthy, influential and immensely popular. He held the position of Secretary to the Admiralty for four years, from 1841 until February 1845, at which date he became Secretary at War for five months and again from December 1852 to February 1855. Throughout his career Herbert supported social reform, and he was the instrument through which Nightingale was able to wield such enormous influence over the Royal Commission on the Health of the Army.

Herbert was devoted to his wife, the former Elizabeth à Court, but he placed the last years of his life almost entirely at Nightingale's disposal. It was Herbert who supported her early nursing aspirations, and urged her to go to the Crimea. Despite the unceasing demands on her time, she sent him at least thirty long, detailed letters from the East, describing conditions and outlining her ideas for reforms in the Army Medical Corps, both in wartime and in times of peace. Her letters included itemized plans for a complete reorganization of the administration of the Corps. It was Herbert to whom she also sent her numerous complaints about, among other things, Mary Stanley's contingent of nursing ladies, the inefficiency of Purveyors, and the Reverend Mother Bridgeman's (Nightingale's "Mother Brickbat") attempts to bring her nuns into the hospital. At the beginning of 1858, Herbert's health began to falter,

a complete collapse and, at the beginning of December, he was diagnosed with advanced kidney disease. During those two years Nightingale had considered his ill health no more than an excuse to go off to his estates in Ireland to hunt and fish while she was working harder than ever. She made her feelings clear on many occasions, writing to Douglas Galton of "the difficulty of getting him [Herbert] up to scratch"<sup>34</sup>. His doctors advised complete rest, which meant resigning his official duties with the government, a suggestion unacceptable to both Nightingale and his wife. Under pressure from Nightingale, he decided to retain his post in the War Office and to reduce his workload by moving from the Commons to the House of Lords. On December 8, still refusing to admit how ill he was, she wrote to him

I hope you will not judge too hardly of yourself from these doctors' opinions. . .it is not true that you cannot (sometimes) absolutely mend a damaged organ, almost always keep it comfortably going for many years. . . .I don't believe there is anything in your constitution which makes it evident that disease is getting the upper hand. On the contrary<sup>35</sup>.

When, despite her assurances, he died on August 2, 1861, Nightingale was devastated. She had driven him mercilessly, complaining constantly about his shortcomings, but she had been heavily dependent on his support. He had been her

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<sup>34</sup> Woodham-Smith, 248.

<sup>35</sup> Woodham-Smith, 245.

her attitude abruptly reversed; she praised him lavishly, calling him her "Master" and claiming that her loss was greater even than his widow's. On August 14 she wrote to her uncle that "I know of no widow more desolate than I"<sup>36</sup>. Not content to leave the task of memorializing him to either his wife or his colleagues, she wrote a memoir entitled *Private and Confidential. Sidney Herbert--on his Services to the Army*, published in 1862 under the title *Army Sanitation Administration and its Reform under the late Lord Herbert*.

The significance of Herbert's influence is more than evident in the following notes. The second is dated three years after his and Clough's deaths and the notes between November 1864 and 1874 contain numerous references to him, especially in her lists of reminiscences. These lists appear in ff.2, 4v, 6, 8, 11, 13 and 21; his name also appears in a list of names in f.32; f.12 is a longer, more descriptive list than the others, and her entry regarding Herbert is representative of her relationship with him:

7 years ago	the death of the best friend & fellow worker man or woman ever had, Sidney Herbert, whose labours were the highest good as his too early death was the deepest loss the Army--I had almost said the Country--ever had.
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Following a discussion of St. Paul, which begins in f.137,

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<sup>36</sup> Woodham-Smith, 253.



manhood--in his last 2 years one wondered how he did so much", possibly referring to the period of Herbert's illness. In f.217, undated (the last dated note in the manuscript is f.209, dated 21 May 1901), she wrote "celebrated your brother's death", which is ambiguous but may mean Herbert, given that Nightingale had only a sister. The final mention of Herbert is simply his name, in f.223, written in the top left corner.

Nightingale had taken it for granted that Herbert would always be at her side, appreciated or not, and the frequent references to him in her private notes suggest that there was some confusion in her mind between her relationships with him, with God and with her work. F.7, written seven years after Herbert's death, clearly expresses Nightingale's exhaustion.

There is an ambiguous tone to this note in the context of her relationship with Herbert:

August 2      1868  
(7 years ago.)

How fervent the wishes of one who enters upon the solemn engagement to *work for God*. And who among us, as he thinks of the crust of worldliness which has encircled all those holy aspirations with which he was then filled, how *the promises of self-devotion & single-heartedness towards God*, have become too much a thing of the past and of memory only - - - -

It is not that there is no desire left to do one's duty

But there is no longer that freshness, that *heartiness, that oneness of purpose*

Happy they who have been enabled to retain all the

Confusion and ambiguity there is here regarding Herbert, but there is more: Nightingale also appears to be feeling some degree of guilt for having driven him so hard in his last two years when it was clear to everyone but her that he was dying.

### Initial Training in Nursing

Returning home early in 1848 from her Roman interlude with the Bracebridges and the Herberts, she continued her close association with the latter. With their approval, she began to formulate a secret plan to go to Kaiserswerth in Germany<sup>37</sup>. Several months later, in September, her chance arrived; Parthe was ordered by her doctor to take the cure at Karlsbad and the family decided to go to Julius Mohl and Mary Clarke. Their plan was forestalled, however, by political unrest in Europe and they remained in England, taking the ailing Parthe to Malvern instead. Nightingale was devastated; she was certain that God had intervened in her plans because she was still not worthy. Her anguish increased until, in the spring of 1849, she refused a second

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<sup>37</sup> Kaiserswerth, founded in 1833 by Theodor Fliedner and his wife, began as a place of refuge for recently discharged prisoners. By 1851 it had grown into a hospital, orphanage, penitentiary, and training school for teachers. Nightingale had received the *Year Book of the Institution of Deaconesses* at Kaiserswerth from a family friend, Prussian Ambassador Chevalier Bunsen, in 1846. He had spoken to her of the institution as early as 1841, but this was before she had realized her vocation.

Milnes<sup>38</sup>. Initially uninterested in Milnes, Nightingale eventually developed a deep attachment to him. She was tempted to accept his proposal, an acceptance which was no doubt encouraged by her family, but in the end her devotion to her calling would take precedence. Referring to her refusal, she wrote,

I have an intellectual nature which requires satisfaction and that would find it in him. I have a passionate nature which requires satisfaction and that would find it in him. I have a moral, an active, nature, which requires satisfaction and that would not find it in his life. Sometimes I think I will satisfy my passional nature at all events, because that will at least secure me from the evil of dreaming. But would it? I could be satisfied to spend a life with him in combining our different powers in some great object. I could not satisfy this nature by spending a life with him in making society and arranging domestic things<sup>39</sup>.

The family was predictably angered by her refusal to marry

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<sup>38</sup> Richard Monckton Milnes (1809-1885), English philanthropist, poet and Parliamentarian, champion of religious equality. He was instrumental in reforming the treatment of juvenile offenders. In addition to being a talented poet, he was also responsible for the first collected edition of Keats. During his years in Parliament, he was an extremely helpful connection for Nightingale.

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in Pickering, 102; cf also Woodham-Smith, 55; Strachey, 115; Vicinus and Nergaard, 40. Longford records that Milnes was still on Nightingale's mind long after she refused him, writing to her cousin Hilary Bonham Carter that "I know that since I refused him not a day has passed without my thinking of him" (Longford, 91).

Nightingale experienced several "great passions", especially throughout her early years. The greatest of these seems to have been for Marianne Nicholson, sister of Henry. In 1846 she wrote "I have never loved but one person with passion in my life and that was her" (Woodham-Smith, 28).

for a second time by the Bracebridges, who whisked her off to Africa and then to Europe. She spent much of her time until the following July writing of her despair in her journal. Mrs. Bracebridge eventually tired of her melancholy and she arranged that the party should travel from Greece to England by way of Germany. As a result Nightingale finally realised her dream of visiting Kaiserswerth.

Immediately her health returned. She stayed two weeks before their return to England, and in that time wrote a 32 page pamphlet on the institution published anonymously in 1851<sup>40</sup>. Fanny's concern for her daughter "changed its character for the worse" when she found out about Nightingale's activities in Germany<sup>41</sup>. The family home turned into a battle ground, until finally Nightingale relented and agreed to subject herself to the whims of her sister and mother for six months. The very moment her sentence was up, she sought refuge with the Herberts, where she met, and was quite impressed by, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell (1821-1910), the first officially qualified female physician

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<sup>40</sup> *The Institution of Kaiserswerth on the Rhine for the Practical Training of Deaconesses, under the direction of the Rev. Pastor Fliedner, embracing the support and care of a Hospital, Infant and Industrial Schools, and a Female Penitentiary. Printed by the Inmates of the London Ragged Colonial Training School, 1851.*

<sup>41</sup> Woodham-Smith, 65.

United States, where she attained her medical degree. She had recently returned from Paris, where she had been studying at the school of midwifery, La Maternité. Although information regarding the relationship between the two women is scarce, it is likely that Blackwell was influential in the formation of Nightingale's drive for hospital and nursing reform.

### Views on Women

Despite her admiration for Blackwell, Nightingale was often impatient with women of her own class. It was the woman who chose a path outside traditional roles, not Blackwell herself, that she admired. In 1860, she wrote to John Stuart Mill that

Female M.D.'s have taken up the worst part of a male M.D.ship of 50 years ago. The women have made no improvement, they have only tried to be 'men' "<sup>42</sup>.

Nightingale felt, in some ways like the later anti-suffrage campaigners, very strongly that women should devote themselves to "womanly" things and not try "to do things just because men do them"<sup>43</sup>. This rather contemptuous opinion of women is reflected in her notes and to some degree in her actions, particularly in her relationship with

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<sup>42</sup> Vicinus and Nergaard, 210.

<sup>43</sup> Woodham-Smith, 5.



1893 when the Charter was granted. Less than one month later (f.111) she wrote again on the topic:

The Spirit of Nursing is all changing.  
Pss Xtian--no preparation jumps right into it  
in her drawing-room dress[.] *Madame Louise de France*--prepared by going into a Convent.  
Now, Countesses & Duchesses are put at the  
head of everything (Committee) of which they  
can barely remember the name--& to which they  
do not give a day's work. . .two weaknesses  
of the present day. . . .Pss Xtian. The  
Nursing is passing into new hands. (f111v) Oh  
words! words! what a power are words what has  
Pss Xtian done for the "education" &  
"training" of Nurses? what for the "status"  
of Nurses? Is it by Registration? or by her  
fine dress? & receptions? how has she  
informed herself? Pray for her! this new  
Superior of Nursing. June 7/93

Despite her evident discontent with women, Nightingale held a few in great admiration. One of these was Angélique Pringle, one of her earliest trained nurses, who eventually held the position of Superintendent of the nursing schools at the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary and St. Thomas' and who is occasionally referred to in the notes edited below. Nightingale nicknamed her "the Pearl" and they continued a close friendship for decades, even after Pringle was forced to resign her position at St. Thomas' because of her conversion to the Roman Catholic church in 1888, a resignation which caused Nightingale much distress. In f.48, dated 3 March 1890, she wrote

2. it is a grievous "wrong" & an  
unpardonable "bigotry" not to have a R[oman

See the length of the sword by the sheath  
(measure the depth of this conviction by our  
misery at parting with Miss Pringle).<sup>46</sup>

### Continues Training

In any case, encouraged by meeting Dr. Blackwell, by June of 1851 she was off again to Kaiserswerth, where she stayed for four months and became filled once more with plans to go back to England and train to become a nurse, plans which were thwarted as usual by her mother and sister. The following winter, she wrote a thinly disguised autobiography entitled *Cassandra*; she was, however, beginning to feel more in control and she soon found an ally in her father, after nursing him through a painful eye infection. For a time she thought that perhaps the Roman Catholic church would provide refuge for her, a place where she could perform God's work. She was dissuaded from this by Henry Manning<sup>47</sup>; after reading her *Suggestions for Thought to the Searchers*

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<sup>46</sup> See also ff.33, 41, 66v and 202v.

<sup>47</sup> For more on the relationship between Nightingale and Manning, see Peter C. Erb's forthcoming *Manning, Gladstone and the Battle for Mary Stanley's Soul*. Catholic Record Society, July 1997. On Nightingale-Manning letters see Peter C. and Elizabeth J. Erb, "Manning and Nightingale: A critical edition of their Correspondence", forthcoming in *Manning and his Spiritual Directees*.



appears to have felt that she was not a suitably submissive adherent to the Catholic faith. He did, however, assist her in staying, briefly, at the hospital of the Sisters of Mercy in Dublin. Also in 1852, she travelled to Paris to spend time with the Sisters of Charity but was immediately called back to England to nurse her dying grandmother. When she was finally able, in June 1853, to enter the Maison de la Providence of the Sisters of Mercy in Paris, to begin her training, she came down with the measles. Returning to England in August, she moved to London, to take over her new duties as matron of the Institution for the care of Sick Gentlewomen in Distressed Circumstances at the Institute's new location on Harley St. She had been hired for this position two months earlier, after a month of difficult negotiations with the Committee in charge (the ladies having serious concerns about hiring a young woman of Nightingale's social position to provide nursing services to her "inferiors"). Fanny and Parthe responded to this development with "hysterics"; her father, on the other hand, provided support in the form of £500 per annum.

Nightingale insisted on a restructuring of the

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<sup>48</sup> This work was privately printed in 3 volumes by Eyre & Spottiswoode, London in 1860.

"piped up to every floor", a "windlass installation" was set up to deliver the patients' food, and a system of bells was organized so that the nurse on duty could be easily called<sup>49</sup>.

Within six months Nightingale had everything in running order at Harley St. and, upon an outbreak of cholera, had gone off as a volunteer superintendent at Middlesex Hospital in Soho. Nightingale was now set on her lifelong mission to change the face of nursing in England. She had been collecting statistics on hospitals, reading the Government Blue Books, and keeping records of her observations. She was fast becoming the leading expert on hospitals and nursing in the country. Her knowledge had proved inestimable at Harley St., and it was about to be put to its greatest test yet.

#### Nightingale in the Crimea

The importance of the Harley St. period of her life is reflected in her notes, although often in a passing manner; ff.4v, 6, 8, 12 and 21 all contain mention of Harley Street, and as late as 1893 she wrote "And see today is 43 years since I went to Harley St" (f.162). The same is true of her treatment of the

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<sup>49</sup> Woodham-Smith, 85.

Crimea. These too appear in the lists of reminiscences in the first section of the notes; after f.21 the Crimea is mentioned only in passing. In March, 1854, Britain and France declared war on Russia, with British troops arriving at Sebastopol, in the Crimea, by September. The initial action was disastrous, and men died in droves from starvation and disease, particularly cholera. They had not been properly equipped for the harsh winter climate, and extra food and warm clothing were in short supply. Thousands of soldiers flooded the British barracks hospital at Scutari, where medical aid was minimal; the swarming rats got as much of the available food as the sick and dying men received, and drainage was nonexistent. These were not unheard-of conditions for an army hospital. What made this conflict different was that William H. Russell, a correspondent from the *Times*, was in attendance to witness the carnage, which he promptly reported to the British public. In response to the immediate outrage, Sidney Herbert, as Minister at War, wrote to Nightingale in October and requested that she report to Scutari with a group of nurses and do what she could to alleviate the suffering. She had already decided to go (legend has it that her letter requesting his permission crossed his letter in the mail) and, on

Bracebridges and thirty-nine nurses in tow. Her initial problems with the administration have been voluminously detailed in Woodham-Smith's volume, and need only to be referred to here as the catalyst wherein Nightingale learned that she would need all her determination and resolve to achieve results, and that she would be fighting her battles alone.

Nightingale often refers to her experience in the Crimea in the various lists she made in her notes: ff.2, 6, 8 and 21, and in one short notation in f.127: "Our arrival at Scutari 39 years ago" following "November 3-4/93". F.41 is possibly a list of the names of nurses who accompanied to the east. There are indirect references to the conflict in f.134 (April 1894) with the mention of Lady Forester's death, in f.162 (August 1896) where she mentions both her return from the Crimea and Colonel Lefroy and in f.178, which contains the phrase "Chartist Meeting--D[uke] of Wellington", a man who considered the ordinary soldier as something less than human, a position which she firmly opposed.

#### Working Entirely Alone

Throughout her life as well as during her time in the Crimea she complained that she had no help, no

devotion of people like John Sutherland, Arthur Hugh Clough and many others. Dr. John Sutherland (1808-1891), a Scottish physician greatly interested in sanitary science, was of particular importance in this regard. He practised medicine on the Continent until 1846, at which time he moved to Liverpool; two years later he was appointed an inspector for the first board of health. Sutherland was an important figure during the cholera epidemic of 1848-9 and by 1855 had become head of the Commission sent to the Crimea, at Nightingale's instigation, to investigate sanitary conditions in the British Army hospital. His opinion was so highly respected that eventually he was sent to inspect all barracks and hospitals in the United Kingdom<sup>50</sup>. His primary occupation, however, from the time of the Crimean conflict until his death was to work for Nightingale, writing reports, visiting hospitals and agitating on her behalf in circles where she had no access. There are surprisingly few references to Sutherland in Nightingale's notes,

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<sup>50</sup> In addition to his medical practice, Sutherland edited *The Liverpool Health of Towns' Advocate* in 1846, reported on sanitary conditions for the Royal Sanitary Commission for the Crimea (including a reply to Sir John Hall's *Observations on the Report of the Sanitary Commission despatched to the Seat of the War in the East*), and in 1852 published *General Board of Health Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Epidemic Districts in London, with special reference to the threatened Visitation of Cholera*.

in f.4v, dated 5 November 1864, she wrote "Do not trouble thyself at Dr. Sutherland's absences", and she mentions writing to him in August 1896 (f.162).

Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-1861), the poet and son-in-law of Nightingale's Aunt Mai is better treated by Nightingale in her notes. Having convinced the family by mid-1857 that Nightingale's illness precluded their seeing her, Aunt Mai had moved into the Burlington Hotel, Nightingale's residence. Clough, whom Nightingale met in 1852, reported to the two every day, ran errands, made deliveries, mailed letters, and devoted his time exclusively to the work. He worked for her from 1857 until his early death in 1861 and receives mention only three times, but all three appear more heart-felt than the references to Sutherland. In f.2 she lists him alongside Herbert as having left her; f.15, dated 1868, is a transcription of one of his poems; and f.43, written in the summer of 1889, contains his name in the context of her sense of failure, specifically in combatting the British Nursing Association.

#### The Post-Crimea Years and the Sanitary Commission

It was while in the Crimea that Nightingale first

suffering from what was then referred to as Crimean fever, and was likely typhus. Desperately sick for weeks, she never fully recovered her health. After several weeks of severe illness, during which time she continued to work herself as hard as she worked her subordinates, Nightingale was sufficiently recovered to leave her bed. However, her refusal to take rest and proper nutrition resulted in her never fully regaining her physical strength; consequently, on 11 August 1857, she again suffered a complete collapse. By the end of 1857, convinced she was about to die, she began to make plans with Herbert for continuing her reforms when she was gone, discussed funeral arrangements with Clough, composed her will, and instructed Parthe that she wished to be buried in the Crimea.

Her illness was diagnosed as being the result of stress. However, she frequently employed her condition to manipulate the people around her in order to maximize the amount of work she was able to obtain from them. Nightingale carried this attitude to the extreme, ignoring the potentially fatal illnesses of several of her most devoted supporters, such as Clough and Herbert, and was thus totally unprepared for their deaths.

From the time of her second collapse, Nightingale

friends and family. Her conviction of her impending death is indicated repeatedly in her notes; f.3, dated March 1865, contains the phrase "with the prospect of death at no distant day"; in f.98, dated 7-8 March 1893, she wrote "was March 7 to have been my death day?"; one week later (f.99) "Christ has made me His own (at 72) to serve God to take the step from death unto life to-day" (*italics in manuscript*). In f.139, dated the following May, she reflected on "What is it to be ready for death?". For the most part, for the remainder of her working life she met only with those who had appointments and, perhaps not surprisingly, suffered repeated "attacks" at any suggestion of a visit from her mother or her sister.

Her fortunes improved in February 1855, when there was a change of government and her old friend Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister, appointing Lord Panmure as Secretary for War. In answer to her pleas, Panmure immediately sent out a Sanitary Commission composed of Sutherland, Mr. Rawlinson (an engineer), and a Dr. Milroy, as well as several sanitary inspectors from Liverpool. This signalled the beginning of years of work for Nightingale on the sanitary conditions of the British army; work which led to major reforms not only of the army hospitals at home



hospitals in England and, later, in India.

Her immediate goal upon her return from the Crimea was reform of the Army Medical system, which meant that she had first to convince the upper ranks (who came solely from Society) that the rank-and-file soldiers were deserving of consideration and humane treatment, no easy task in England's excessively class-conscious environment. She worked tirelessly, writing letters and reports, compiling statistics, badgering anyone who would listen and infuriating the War Office, who did not want to hear. She was not to be resisted, however; the angel of the Crimea had the support of the great British public, which she used as a threat whenever progress appeared to be slowing<sup>51</sup>.

The Sanitary Commission's recommendations, based in part on Nightingale's contributions, were examined by the government from 1856 through 1857, and her lengthy report, entitled *Notes on Matters affecting the Health, Efficiency and Hospital Administration of the British Army*<sup>52</sup>, though never published, was sent to

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<sup>51</sup> She was aided in this by Harriett Martineau (1802-1876), British essayist, novelist and journalist; a regular contributor to the *Daily News* between 1852 and 1866.

<sup>52</sup> The full title of her report: *Notes on Matters Affecting the Health, Efficiency, and Hospital Administration of the British Army. Founded Chiefly on the Experience of the Late War. Presented by Request to the Secretary of State for War. Privately printed for Nightingale by Harrison and Sons*

beginning of reforms that would:

- (1) put the Barracks in sanitary order;
- (2) found a Statistical Department for the army;
- (3) institute an Army Medical School;
- (4) completely reconstruct the Army Medical Department,  
revise the Hospital Regulations and draw up a new  
Warrant for the Promotion of Medical  
Officers.<sup>53</sup>

When war broke out in India in 1859, she planned to travel there to be sure her reforms were being implemented but was dissuaded by Herbert. Instead, she remained at home, writing reports and recommendations, and reading every dispatch coming from India. Sir Bartle Frere<sup>54</sup> was a key government contact for Nightingale in her drive for sanitary reforms in India; she also gained a great deal of support from Sir John Lawrence<sup>55</sup>, in part because he and she shared a common

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in London, 1858.

<sup>53</sup> Woodham-Smith, 241.

<sup>54</sup> Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere (1815-1884), British administrator. Frere served as political resident in the court at Satara, India from 1842 until 1848, at which time he took over administration of the province, where he remained until 1850. After spending several years in England, he returned to India in 1859 as a member of the Viceroy's council and was appointed governor of Bombay in 1862. He returned to England in 1867, and joined the Indian council.

<sup>55</sup> Sir John Lawrence was appointed Viceroy of India in 1863, two years after he met Nightingale in the course of her work on the India reports. They became friends immediately, Nightingale being impressed by his passion for the protection of the native Indian population, and his deep religious

despite the assistance she received, and the presentation of her lengthy *Observations*<sup>56</sup> to the Indian Sanitary Commission, she was still battling the government department responsible for Indian affairs as late as 1894<sup>57</sup>. She likely possessed more statistical knowledge of conditions in India than most of the members of the commission, and she was acknowledged by some as an expert. This is not to say that Nightingale was always correct; Smith regales readers with story after story of Nightingale's mistakes and miscalculations, but many of these incidents were due to errors in judgment, rather than inaccurate decisions<sup>58</sup>. The fact of her being so far from the conflict increased the difficulty of overseeing the

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sensibility.

<sup>56</sup> *Observations on the Evidence Contained in the Stational Reports Submitted to the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army in India*, by Florence Nightingale. (Reprinted from the Report of the Royal Commission. Edward Stanford, 1863.)

<sup>57</sup> For mention of India in the notes edited below, see ff.4v, 12, 21, 35v, 61, 63 and 95..

<sup>58</sup> On occasion, Nightingale's reliance on her own knowledge blinded her to other factors. The best example of this unfortunate trait was her reaction to the development of germ theory, a theory first reported by Dr. E. Headlam Greenhow in 1858. She went so far as to claim that such a concept flew in the face of religion, writing to Jowett that "whenever the facts were established 'in Science...those facts will show a "moral"--the best "moral"--...[showing] best the perfect God, leading men to perfection. "Contagion" would then shew God a Devil'" (Smith, 100).

would simply disappear and let them get on with their jobs. She wrote, in a private note of 1864, that working under these conditions was "as Christ would have done 'if Christ had had to work through Pilate!'"<sup>59</sup>. Again, as in the case of Harley St. and the Crimea her work on the Sanitary Commission is noted primarily in lists, although she does emphasize teaching health, which for her meant sanitation. The greatest emphasis is found in f.232:

Leeds

Oh teach health, teach health, teach health,  
to rich & poor, to educated. & if there be  
any uneducated oh teach it all the more--to  
men--to women especially--to mothers, to  
young mothers especially--the old ones do not  
realize that they have any responsibility for  
the health of their children

Health comes before Greek & grammar. The  
lecture, the book is only the beginning. It  
seems to be of no use telling (f233) the  
young ones--& here is what elementary  
literary education is good for if followed up  
by *practical application*--are much readier to  
take it in.<sup>60</sup>

Training Schools

In addition to her work for the army Nightingale,  
employing the fund raised by the public during her time  
in the Crimea, worked ceaselessly to revolutionize the

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<sup>59</sup> Smith, 122.

<sup>60</sup> See also ff.102v and 193v.

and render it a respectable career, to emphasise the important role nurses had to play in medical care, and to institute schools for proper training. In 1860 she was successful in establishing the first Training School for Nurses at St. Thomas' hospital in London. Her *Notes on Nursing*<sup>62</sup>, detailing habits of hygiene which we take for granted today, was written for the education of women nursing sick family members at home. Once she had acquired a group of trained nurses, she fought for permission for them to offer their services in the Workhouses, which involved her in the machinations of Poor Law Reform, a cause over which Parliament battled for many years.

\* \* \* \* \*

The latter part of Nightingale's life, for the most part from the mid-1880s, was much less productive and her influence had pretty much come to an end. She outlived most of her closest friends and allies; Sidney Herbert died in August 1861, followed in November by Arthur Clough, Charles Bracebridge in 1872, her old War Office foe Lord Panmure in 1874, Clarkey in 1883, the devoted Mai Smith in 1891, and in the same

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<sup>61</sup> *Notes on Hospitals* (John W. Parker and Sons, 1859. Third edition, Longman's, Green and Co., 1863).

<sup>62</sup> *Notes on Nursing: What it is, and What it is not.* By Florence Nightingale. (London: Harrison and Sons, 1860).

Jowett<sup>63</sup> in 1893. She had worked tirelessly and driven others equally as hard. She firmly believed that she was fulfilling the task that God had sent her, that she had been divinely selected and that, no matter the obstacles, no matter the exhaustion, no matter the despair, her destiny had never been in her own hands. This remains clear in her many notes written in this later period. From the time of her return from the Crimea, she had seldom left her home on South St. in London. She saw people only by appointment, continued her voluminous correspondence, and frequently reminded those around her that she was on her death bed. The year 1894 saw the end of her campaigning on behalf of sanitary conditions in India, her final crusade. By this time new stars had risen, and her adoring public had moved on. Most of her admirers no longer knew whether or not she still lived, but that was of little importance; she had become a legend and her name lived

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<sup>63</sup> Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893), Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College and Regius Professor of Greek. He and Nightingale met when Clough sent him, anonymously, a copy of her *Suggestions for Thought* in 1860, and a deep and abiding friendship grew between the two. They carried on a voluminous correspondence for many years, and he personally brought her the sacrament when she was too ill to leave her bed. It was to Jowett that she turned with her philosophic musings in her later years. For more on their correspondence, see Vincent Quinn and John Prest's *Dear Miss Nightingale: A Selection of Benjamin Jowett's Letters to Florence Nightingale* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987). He is mentioned in ff.6, 132v, 133, 142, 149v, 192 and 232.

in the visits of children, the families of her pupils and many other acquaintances. In 1894 her sight began to fail and she was completely blind by 1901. By 1903 it had become clear that her mind was beginning to wander; she had to be coached before visitors came, reminded of who they were and why they wanted to see her. In 1907 she received the Order of Merit, but it had to be awarded to her in her home, as it was not possible for her to attend the official ceremony. A celebration was held at Carnegie Hall in New York on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Nightingale Training School, at which time there were over 1,000 of her schools in the United States. Florence Nightingale lived an extraordinary life for over 90 years, finally closing her eyes for the last time on 13 August 1910.

### A Note on the Text

The notes, for the most part, are reproduced in this edition in a format as close to the form in which they appear in BL Add. 45844 as was possible. I have presented them in this form in order to preserve, as faithfully I could, Nightingale's thoughts and feelings as she wrote them. In cases where the note is written in simple prose, I have copied it within standard margins. Editorial insertions are indicated by square brackets; square brackets that appear in the manuscript are indicated as double-square brackets; the endnotes are indicated by lower-case letters, footnotes by numerals. Underlined sections have been italicized; abbreviations have been expanded within square brackets wherever identification is possible.

There are a number of quotations and lines of poetry which I have not yet identified. The notes edited below, however, give all indication that they comprise a commonplace book and as a result will require a good deal more time to fully annotate. Those who work on such editions will recognize the difficulties involved in finding such bits and pieces, which often come to one's attention purely by chance. As well, Nightingale's use of scripture has not been



was a member of the Church of England, the reflections in her private notes have a distinctly Evangelical resonance. On that topic I propose a further study.

**FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES:**

**A Critical Edition of BL Add. 45844**

by

Heather Kelly

And the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. [John 6:51 AV]

He that eateth my flesh & drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him. [John 6:56 AV]

It is the spirit that quickeneth: the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit & they are life. [John 6:63 AV]

And feed on him in thy heart.<sup>65, a</sup>

Now is my soul troubled: And what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour. [John 12:27 AV]

So now it was not you that sent me hither but God.<sup>66</sup>

f2<sup>b</sup>

[[Nov. 5/64]]  
[[Inkerman]]

It is 10 years today since Inkerman.  
It is 10 years yesterday since I arrived at Scutari<sup>67</sup>.

It seems to me like 3 lives--tho[ugh] I have spent 7 of those 10 years in bed<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> "[early 1860s] is written in a different hand.

<sup>65</sup> Nightingale is here referring not to the sacrament of the Eucharist but what, to her, was a purer concept. The reference indicates that she was a spiritualizer, looking for the spiritual in its essence rather than in the flesh.

<sup>66</sup> This indicates her belief that she possessed a direct connection with God, that she had been sent for "this cause". It is difficult to identify to whom she is referring by "you".

<sup>67</sup> Inkerman and Scutari were two sites of major importance in the Crimean War. Scutari served as the centre of Nightingale's work during that time. For more on the Crimea see Introduction pp.37-39.

<sup>68</sup> For more on her illness, see Introduction, pp.18-21.

in different worlds--  
In that time I have lost all & won all 3 different  
times-- The last 3 years have been quite as different  
to me (since Sidney Herbert & Clough left me)  
as if I had gone to another world.<sup>70</sup>

f2v

...lers  
November

I.....'s *holy*  
It's good, is it? The Card?<sup>71</sup>

f3

There is scarcely a single page in all my physiological works, in which such a feeling was not active as I wrote. The unvarying tendency of my mind is to regard the whole laws of the animal economy & of the universe as the *direct dictates* of the Deity; and in urging compliance with them, it is with the earnestness & reverence due to a *Divine command* that I do it. I almost lose the consciousness of self in the anxiety to attain the end; & where I see clearly a law of God in our own nature, I rely upon *its efficiency for good with a faith & peace* which no storm can shake, & feel pity for those who remain blind to its origin, wisdom & beneficence. I therefore say it solemnly, & with the prospect of death at no distant day, that I [f3v] experienced great delight, when writing my books, in the consciousness that I was, to the best of my ability, expounding 'the ways of God to man' [John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1:26] and in so far fulfilling one of the highest objects of human existence. God was indeed ever present to my thoughts.

Dr. Andrew Combe

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<sup>69</sup> The "three different existences" refer to: her time in the Crimea, her work on sanitary reform with Herbert and Clough, and the first three years of working without them.

<sup>70</sup> For more on Herbert, see introduction, pp.24-29.

<sup>71</sup> Portions of this note are illegible, nearly one half being obscured by ink blots. The condition of the legible writing suggests that the damage occurred at the time the note was written.

March/65<sup>73</sup>FN

1866 in August God said to me  
What hast thou to do with rest & ease?  
I thought thou hadst given these up long since

Therefore mind that is the word of God unto thee  
April 2/67  
in August 1866

```
[13 years since I went to 1 Harley St
10      "      "      " began at the W.O (came back from
Crimea
                                (began with S[idney]]
9      "      "      " have been ill
5      "      "      " Sidney Herbert's death]]
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<sup>73</sup> While it is no surprise that FN felt her work to be divinely inspired, it is interesting to find her implying here that it is her God-given, but human, patience, rather than a God-like transcendence of patience that enables her to endure. This note is dated in the same month that the Nightingale nurses received permission to enter the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary.

How He has led me by a way which I have not known

In quietness and in confidence shall be thy strength.  
[Isa 30:15 KJ]

If He has anything more for thee to do for Him, surely  
He will lead thee to do it by His own way.  
Do not worry thyself with failures & details  
Do not trouble thyself at Dr. Sutherland's<sup>75</sup>

absences-

at Logan's appointment	}	at Mr. Farnall's <sup>76</sup>
		removal-
at Muir's <sup>77</sup> non-appointment}		at the mislaying of
		the Despatch <sup>78</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Between 1859 and 1862 Nightingale developed a report on sanitary conditions in the British Army in India. It was submitted to the government to be included in the Indian Sanitary Commission's report and her analysis was added, by invitation of the Commission, under the title *Observations by Miss Nightingale*. For more on Poor Law Board, see fn.76.

<sup>75</sup> Beginning in late 1865 and continuing on through the summer of 1866, Sutherland, as representative of the Barrack and Hospital Commission, was frequently away on official visits to countries in the Mediterranean. Nightingale, as was her wont, took his absences as a personal affront and a neglect of his duties to her.

<sup>76</sup> Mr. Farnall was assistant to Mr. Villers, the President of the Poor Law Board. After an inquest declared that a pauper who had died at the Holborn Workhouse had been a victim of unsanitary conditions, Mr. Farnall was sent to assist Nightingale in creating a "Form of Enquiry". This form was sent to all workhouses in the Metropolitan district, with the result that Nightingale nurses were allowed to begin nursing the sick poor. Once again, however, Nightingale's reforms were halted by a weak Government: Workhouse reforms were delayed and Mr. Farnall was removed from his position in mid-summer, 1866.

<sup>77</sup> Logan and Muir unidentified.

<sup>78</sup> Sir John Lawrence, Viceroy of India in 1867, had written a dispatch to the Secretary of State of India on 19 January, requesting that Nightingale's proposal regarding the Sanitary Commission's recommendations be made a part of a public health service scheme. He did not send her a copy and her attempts to obtain one were unsuccessful until May, by

Look to the whole, as it stands in God's mind,  
not to the parts which thou canst not touch.  
See to what He wants thee to do for Him.  
Canst thou not trust Him to do His own work?

"The friend, the comforter, the fellow-worker--is God."

Do not wear thyself with these passions & excitements  
Have faith in Him to "work down that which troubles  
thee".

[[Saturday's excitement with Mrs. S. about DG<sup>79</sup>]],  
It must be always painful to be pulled out of a false  
position.

f5

It may be that they<sup>80</sup> only come as messengers -  
that it is really *God who has need of you*  
My child, did you not once say you would try  
to do *whatever work He gave you?*  
And is not endurance oftentimes as much His work  
as leading armies or commanding fleets?

You ought to stand far above such petty annoyance

Gently take that which ungently came

---

which time the Government was in dire straits. By 11 June,  
she received instructions to work on her scheme but it was too  
late. The Government fell on 19 June, thus effectively  
removing her from a position of power as regards Indian  
policy.

<sup>79</sup> Likely Douglas Galton (d.1899), royal engineer who  
joined Nightingale's cause in 1858. Galton worked in the War  
Office and was a member of the Barracks Sub-Commission and an  
expert on matters of sanitation. He was married to Marianne  
Nicholson.

<sup>80</sup> Smith believes that "they" refers to the "official  
hindrances" that Nightingale battled for so long. I am not  
sure that I agree with Smith's interpretation, but it will  
require considerably more research to provide an alternative  
explanation if, indeed, such identification is possible.

This is the word of the Lord unto thee  
London May 7, 1867

It is 30 years since I called thee unto my service  
Embley February 7 1837<sup>82</sup>

It is 15 years to-day since I called thee to the  
perfection of my service (to be a Saviour)  
Tapton May 7 1852

How hast thou answered?

What opportunities have I not given thee since then?

I entered thee at Harley St.	August 12, 1853
" " Scutari	November 4, 1854
" " with Sidney Herbert	

God's government  
or God's character which is the same thing for Mr.  
Jowett's Lectures<sup>83</sup> (the most important subject of  
all)<sup>d</sup>

f6v

To get all Sciences--especially the Moral ones--out of  
the region of criticism--& into the region of  
discovery--seems to me the very aim of Philosophy  
Astronomy  
Knowledge of God

The Passion of God--Good Friday sermons  
The Character of God--Theology, Divinity, Theodikè<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> It is difficult to determine, in this note, whether Nightingale is speaking of herself in the third person, or is speaking of one of the nurses in her charge who may have been experiencing frustrations.

<sup>82</sup> Nightingale was 16 years old at the time of her "call" from God on 7 February, 1837. For more on her experience of locutions, see Introduction pp.12-15.

<sup>83</sup> For more on Jowett see Introduction, p.49 n.63.

<sup>84</sup> Theodikè: theodicy. She wished to address the question of the justice of God. The extreme suffering she had witnessed, both at home and in the Crimea, was instrumental in driving Nightingale's probings into the age-old problem of the existence of evil.



{suffered

Rationalists (Liberals)  
so ancient to be free to think any thing that to think  
something is of no consequence<sup>85</sup>

f7

July 28    6:30 pm    1867?<sup>86</sup>

I have seen His face  
the Crown of glory inseparably united with the Crown  
of thorns--giving forth the same Light

Three times he has called me

once to His service	Feb 7 1837
once to be a Deliverer	May 7 1852
once to the Cross	July 28 1865

to suffer more even than I have hitherto done  
aut pati aut mori<sup>87</sup>  
for on the Cross I shall see his face  
Am I being offered to him?  
Then this is his answer  
the crown of thorns round the light-radiating head<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Advances in science, as well as a certain degree of dissatisfaction with the church, had created an atmosphere of anxiety and unspoken agnosticism in mid-Victorian society. "[C]oncentration upon a particular set of dogmas was giving way to a pragmatic, a 'practical' way of dealing with the world as it was" (Burn, 73). Nightingale was expressing in f.6 her conviction that the true goals of learning were being neglected.

Manuscript reads "they don't feel it of any importance", overscored, before the remainder of the sentence, as though FN were originally referring to particular persons, then decided to make it a more overarching statement, including her own viewpoint. There is a reflection, in this note, of her feelings of her own martyrdom.

<sup>86</sup> "1867?" in a different hand.

<sup>87</sup> "[E]ither to suffer or to die".

<sup>88</sup> See Introduction, pp.12-15.

And may I think that I am another himself, another like that?

oh too blessed

Oh too happy aut pati aut mori more

that He should look upon me as another like Him

another en état de victim

for all perfection is in that

X X

"For she had seen the face of God and that face was Love--love like the human, only deeper, deeper--tenderer, lovelier, stronger, She could not recall what she had seen, or how she had known it, but the conviction remained that she had seen his face, & that it was infinitely beautiful.

"'He has been wi' me a' the time, my God. He give [f7v] me my [blank], & sent [blank] to tak' care o' me, and [blank] and [blank]. And he sent the Cut Wha'er I gaed till him. And he's been wi' me I kenna hoo lang, and X's wi' me noo. And I hae seen his face, and I'll see his face again."

"Is it true that all our experiences will one day revive in entire clearness of outline, passing before the horror which Lord to the denial of time and the assertion of ever present eternity? If so, then God be with us, for we shall need Him.

And how can I be hard upon others?

Et Dieu lui meme q'est ce que vous voulez qu'il passe a une ame Crucifixe? C'est un l'autre lui meme, une autre Jesus Christ une autre victime. En elle, il voit son fils. Il l'aime.

Et alors cette ame Crucifixe si elle a ce courage, elle est heureuse car toute la perfection est la: c'est l'amusee de la coeur, la paix sur la Croix.<sup>89</sup>

f8

Queen Margaret

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<sup>89</sup> And God himself what do you want him to pass to a Crucified soul? It's another himself, another Jesus Christ another victim. In her, he sees his son. He loves her. And so, this soul Crucified, if she has this courage, she is fortunate because (for) all perfection is there: it is the happiness of her heart, the peace on the Cross.

of St. C. as long as he lived

Always rising early--then she passed to the church and there, with prayers and tears, offered herself up as a sacrifice to God

And if the angels in heaven rejoiced over the finding of such a wanderer why should she cut the cable of love & let her go adrift from her heart? Ought she not to love her still?--But she would have no right if she did nothing to restore her--<sup>91</sup>

August 2-7-12 1867

To offer myself--  
for Oxford

He<sup>92</sup> offers himself up

14 years since I went to Harley St.

And how the Lord has led me by the hand

11 years since I returned from Scutari

how God has guided me

6 years since Sidney Herbert's death

30 years last February since I was first called Feb  
1837

15 " " May since the second and greater call  
May 1852

And how quickly God followed that up--

how faithful He has been to His word

In 5 years from that time I had done Harley St. &

---

<sup>90</sup> Likely referring to St. Catherine of Sienna. Nightingale was fascinated by medieval mystics, particularly Catherine of Sienna (f.45 ff.) and Teresa of Avila (f.73 ff.). BL Add. 45841 is a manuscript of Nightingale's notes on her translations of the works of both women. See also f.240 below.

<sup>91</sup> There is no indication of whom Nightingale is speaking in this note. Assuming the placement is correct, it was written at the end of July, 1867. This was when puerperal sepsis swept through the lying-in ward in the midwifery school at King's College Hospital, resulting in the closure of the school. F.B. Smith, Nightingale's most severe critic, states that Nightingale was aware of the dangers of such an outbreak as early as 1866, but had neglected to put the necessary sanitary measures into effect. If in fact this is true, or if she felt responsible in any degree for the deaths, then this note may be a reflection of guilt and self-reproach.

<sup>92</sup> She is likely referring to Benjamin Jowett.

saviour's life; & was embarked in the Royal  
Commission which has led to all the rest  
O God--if it should be thy will now to give me, like  
St. Teresa<sup>94</sup> 20 years more of life, till I am 67, give  
me to offer up every day to thy service

f9

"Seest thou not thy father & mother here? They have  
lived together more than all thy life, & they  
understand one another not a bit more than they did the  
first day they came together. The planes of their  
orbits never cross. We grow bad, we grow mad in the  
solitude, long before we pass the great portal, if the  
Father be not with us.

As the disciples of the Master would know Him no more  
after the flesh once they had known Him in the spirit,  
so shall we only begin to know our people, when we are  
free, & are no longer self-blinded, in the house of the  
Father" (in the house of the Father here" on earth.)

FN.

If my dame ever spoke a spiteful word of any human  
being--yet give her a cause of personal provocation &  
you shut her mouth close--

I feel myself not only a shattered wreck of what I  
was, but a phantom among other phantoms whose blindness  
is such that we do not know till the crash comes, & the  
inconceivable change has passed over us (1861)<sup>95</sup>, that  
we are no more than so many phantoms.

He asks it of us -- He asks it of his poor  
ones with bent heads & broken hearts

He asks it of us. What does he ask?

FN Sept. 23/67

f10

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<sup>93</sup> This, I believe, is a fairly clear indication that  
Nightingale likened herself to Jesus (imbued with the Holy  
Spirit), as regards her relation to God.

<sup>94</sup> Teresa of Avila (1515-1582), a Spanish Carmelite nun  
and mystic; author of *The Interior Castle*, a description of  
her inward journey toward union with God.

<sup>95</sup> Nightingale repeatedly refers to the year 1861, the  
year of Sidney Herbert's and Arthur Clough's deaths.

Not one who exhibits somewhat to the service & worship of God but the man who offers himself a holocaust to God--

*all that he is and all that he has  
his soul and his body*

*his substance & his surroundings* [footnote in MS: by chastity obedience & poverty]

the very essence of Xtian obedience = absolute self-sacrifice to God not weekly only but daily (expression of all Xtian worship)

"And here we offer & present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls & bodies, to be a reasonable, holy & lively sacrifice unto Thee." [cf. Rom. 12:1 AV]

Am I sure that I sacrifice & offer all that I am & all that I have daily to him? My soul & body? reasonably & holily? to what He asks of me?--

Do I always seek to know what He asks of me?

Ce qui nous est nécessaire, c'est de mettons toute la force de notre prière à ne pas lui demander ce qui nous souhaitons *mais ce qu'il souhaite de nous.*<sup>96</sup>

f11

August 2      1868  
(7 years ago.)

How fervent the wishes of one who enters upon the solemn engagement to work for God. And who among us, as he thinks of the crust of worldliness which has encircled all those holy aspirations with which he was then filled, how the promises of self-devotion & single-heartedness towards God, have become too much a thing of the past and of memory only - - - -  
It is not that there is no desire left to do one's duty  
But there is no longer that freshness, that heartiness, that oneness of purpose  
Happy they who have been enabled to retain all the zeal

---

<sup>96</sup> What we need is to put all the force of our prayer not in asking him what we wish but in what he wishes of us.

August 1868

a time I will not say of despondency but a solemn time to me. (every life has its solemn times, if people would but mark them)

For this week in August saw

15 years ago	my going to Harley St.
12 years ago	my return from the Crimea home, since which time I have not revisited this home & have never had 10 minutes leisure
7 years ago	the death of the best friend & fellow worker man or woman ever had, Sidney Herbert, whose labours were the highest good as his too early death was the deepest loss the Army--I had almost said the Country--ever had
5 years ago	we finished the Report of the R[oyal] Indian San[itary] Comm[ission] which has, praise be to God & thanks to the appointment of Sir John L[awrence] (f13) borne good fruit both for natives & Europeans--altho[ugh] we must all of us feel, as people do whose idea is higher than human power of performance, that the work in India might have progressed more rapidly
11 years ago	since I was taken ill with the illness from which I have never risen again

How much I have to thank God for Who has indeed led me by a way which I have not known - - -

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<sup>97</sup> This note, written seven years after Herbert's death, clearly expresses Nightingale's exhaustion. The previous winter had been horrendous; she had lost her star pupil and assistant to typhus at the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary, and she was wearied by her interminable search for more workers, fearing that all her work would be in vain if there were no one to carry it out. As well, there is an ambiguous tone to this note in the context of her relationship with Herbert; cf. Introduction, pp.24-29.

troubles like deep & rushing waters which one cannot cross were one to look down into them.

I am almost the last survivor of my fellow workers in England-- men, some of them but little older than I.

And this very year has seen the death of the best & dearest of my pupils, my "Una," who was many years younger than I.

Now she is gone I cannot think how I could ever be unhappy, when she was doing God's work so gallantly at L[iver]pool<sup>98</sup>

Life under this discipline, loses--shall I say? or gains--all its value. [footnote in MS: The more value we can set on this portion of God's eternity, called life--and I do value it, tho[ugh] not so much as perhaps I ought--the more we shall be fulfilling His intentions & doing His work, both for ourselves & those around us--both in joy & in sorrow--both in young & in old age-]. It becomes but as a part of eternity. And past & future would seem almost more a reality & a presence than the present--were it not for pressing duty.

I don't know that I ever wrote so much about my own things before.

But I must leave off now. For indeed I am driven by business

f14

L[ea] H[urst]

Sept. 8/68

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<sup>98</sup> "Una", an Irish name meaning "chosen one", was Nightingale's nickname for Agnes Jones, who had spent two years training at Kaiserswerth, completing her nursing education with a year at the Nightingale School at St. Thomas'. In May, 1865 Jones was appointed Matron of the Workhouse Infirmary in Liverpool. Facing nearly insurmountable odds, Jones carried out Nightingale's reforms until early 1868, when she contracted typhus during an epidemic. Her death, on 19 February, dealt a catastrophic blow to Nightingale, who despaired of ever finding a replacement to continue the Workhouse work.

la mortification, et continuez à y marcher sans vous  
soucier de ce qui vous regarde, mais n'ayant autre  
dessein que de faire la volonté de Dieu.  
pour ne chercher votre repos que dans la volonté de  
Dieu.

ce ne sera pas votre satisfaction, votre paix, que vous  
vous proposerez pour fin<sup>99</sup>

f14v

Lord, let me be willing merely to do Thy will--not  
aspiring to any sympathy, any satisfaction, not even  
any peace for myself. Giving up all idea of being of  
use or even a pleasure, if such is not Thy will.

f15

A[rthur] H[ugh] C[lough]

c.1868<sup>100</sup>

"I give thee joy! O faith-ful word".

He goes on to describe the "martyr" breathing out  
"his last sigh" in "ignominious death,"  
believing his work to have "failed."

And he says

"I give thee joy. O not in vain"

So do I say "Shall give thee joy"

that is a "faith"-ful word.

Tho[ugh] the Workhouse work seems to have failed,  
that "word" "shall give thee joy."

Tho[ugh] the War Office work seems to have failed,  
that word "shall give thee joy"

Tho[ugh] the Italian Kingdom seems to have failed,  
that word "shall give thee joy"

"Shall give thee joy! O not in vain!"

Why?-- Because we believe in God.

---

<sup>99</sup> Begin anew to walk in the way of mortification and  
continue to walk there without caring for your own concerns,  
but to have no other intention than to do the will of God. For  
not to look for your repose except in the will of God. It is  
not to be your satisfaction, your peace, that you suggest for  
yourself to finish.

<sup>100</sup> Date written in a different hand.



Because we believe not that what we wish will be done  
but that what will be done is the very best.

f16<sup>102</sup>

2

[1868-1869]<sup>103</sup>

after a higher truth. It is the spirit of devotion &  
self-sacrifice, wh[ich] aspires in some way or other to  
be a Saviour of men. He who has this spirit, whether  
consciously or unconsciously; whether he be a man of  
Science or a minister of a Church is a Christian by  
whatever term he may call himself.

For men are to be judged, *not by their opinions but  
by their lives; not by what they say or do but what  
they are.*

f17

The war of 1866 was the crime of Prussia  
" " 1870 " " France  
& the result universal ruin.<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> One of Nightingale's proudest achievements was her  
training school for midwives; when the school was forced to  
close, she was devastated. Her notes during the latter part  
of 1866 and throughout 1867 were full of her despair, and  
often it seems as though it was only her faith in God, and in  
God's plan that enabled her to continue. This note is also a  
commemoration of sorts, containing and being formed around a  
poem by Clough. The line "I give thee joy! O faithful word"  
appears in his poem entitled *I give thee joy! O worthy word!*  
in v.2 l.1; "I give thee joy! O not in vain!" is v.4 l.1.  
(*The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough*. Ed. F.L. Mulhauser, 2nd Ed.  
[Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974]). For more on Clough, see  
Introduction pp.41.

<sup>102</sup> The beginning of this note is missing.

<sup>103</sup> Written in a different hand.

<sup>104</sup> In 1866, a Prussian-Italian alliance was formed  
against Austria. Prussian aggression and the resulting  
conflicts changed the face of Europe. In 1870 France, who had  
signed a neutrality treaty with Austria in 1866, declared war  
on Prussia, resulting in the defeat of Napoleon III and the  
beginning of the Third Republic. The uneasy and constantly  
shifting balance of power never completely ceased and, had

the ladies siller than the men  
when one holds their stupid noses on the  
touchstone of a serious conversation  
--the men have seen something of *business* &  
*public interest*, wh[ich] gives them a certain back  
more or less.<sup>105</sup>

f18

[envelope fragment, postmarked] LONDON JY 20 72 F  
to be turned back into this petty stagnet shifting life  
Embley Aug. 7/72<sup>106</sup>

f19

Thursday Oct 24/72

after the Sacrament  
lurid gloomy beautiful sunrise

O my Creator art Thou leading every man of us to  
perfection?

Or is this only a metaphysical idea for which there is  
no evidence?

Is man only a constant repetition of himself?

Thou knowest that thro[ugh] all these 20 horrible  
years, I have been supported & only supported by the  
belief [[I think I must believe it still, or I am sure  
I could not work]] that I was working with Thee, who

---

Nightingale lived for a few more years, she would not have  
been surprised that European unrest eventually culminated in  
WWI.

<sup>105</sup> For more on Nightingale's opinions on women, see  
Introduction, pp.32-35.

<sup>106</sup> In August 1872, Nightingale was forced to return to  
the family home at Embley for eight months. Faced with unruly  
servants and ailing parents who clung to their daughter for  
support, she was filled with anxiety for the work piling up  
back in London. Finally, in spring 1873, she had a room  
fitted up for her mother at her home on South St. and returned  
to her duties.

perfection.

I always thought that at last I should write a book--at least that some one in my time would write a book putting this forth & shewing the evidence (f19v) telling in whom we have believed & how we know in whom we h[ave] b[elieved]. (f20) [section missing] for it-- & shewing some at least of the laws by which Thou wert bringing us to perfection.

Now---is all that over?

is it nothing but a metaphysical idea?

Art Thou not on a plan for our everlasting progress?

Are all generations the same, O Creator, Master & Judge?

It cannot be so.

[Septimius

Those who succeed know not the want of this.

But..those who fail. . . ?

Moral Philosophy

is it Metaphysical Philosophy

or is it a study of the plan of God

& of the laws by which his

Moral Governm[en]t is carried on?<sup>107</sup>

f21 [approx Aug 1872]<sup>108</sup>

[Wha]t? have I led you so wonderfully all these 20 years?

And you cannot trust me now?<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup> In October 1872, Jowett, in an attempt to distract Nightingale from her frustration at Embley, suggested that she write some essays on the Idea of God; later that year he asked her to select stories for a Children's Bible. The notes written during this period reflect her philosophic frame of mind, as well as, perhaps, her preliminary thoughts for the essays.

<sup>108</sup> I have based my estimation of this date on the tally of years passed, contained in the note.

<sup>109</sup> This phrase, repeated verbatim at the end of the note, suggests that this may be another locution. See Introduction pp.12-15.

" " brought you back in  
 " " completed your 1st R[oyal] C[ommission]  
 " " raised up your work after S[idney]  
 H[erbert]'s death  
 " " completed your 2nd R[oyal] C[ommission]  
 for India &  
 set the Indian work on its legs

(5 years from my promise of May 1852 it was all done--  
 you had had your 3 years from Aug 1853  
 to Aug 1856  
 at Harley St. & Scutari

you won in your 1st R[oyal] C[ommission])

And you cannot trust me now.

f21v

Curre Xas

p309

July 17/74 Dieu m'a fait &c<sup>111</sup> see March 12,  
 (Nov. 18/7<sup>f</sup>

f22

"When we toil to do the right for God, & pray to Him  
 for more light, we often get instead a sense of His  
 stillness & waiting--Not an atom more certainty to go  
 by, but a warmer & wider sense of His love, and a  
 greater willingness to let Him do as He pleases with  
 this world of His."

April 4/73

"And don't you feel a burning desire to set it right  
 for them--taste & dogma & all!

Yet God is in no hurry with them.

But I think He will set them right at last, & perhaps  
 we shall have to be set right too."

f23 [blank]

---

<sup>110</sup> In the MS, "ago" replaces the original "from", which is overscored. If this is, indeed, a record of a locution, then it speaks to FN's self-certainty that she should take it upon herself to correct God's grammar.

<sup>111</sup> God has made me &c.

"We think of religion as if it were a game that we had to play with an August Opponent--a game at which both could not win, & yet they actually think they can play it unfairly. They want to cheat--But in that grand & awful game, it cannot be said that either wins unless both do."

4/4/73

"The ducks sat every one with her face to the wind, so that it blew all their feathers the right way. Their work went on just as well in spite of the wind: so will ours if we face it".<sup>112</sup>

f24

April 1873

*"There is great rest & comfort however in committing the whole matter to the Master to whom the souls of these poor people are even more precious than to us."*

Mrs. Elmslie  
Kashmir

f25

Aug 31/73

The soul has nothing to do:  
Nothing to be anxious about:  
but to ask: What shall<sup>113</sup> I do, my God?

Let the will be absolutely in God's hands  
for Him to let the thing turn out as  
He pleases, while the understanding  
does His business.

f26

---

<sup>112</sup> This is an interesting quote (unidentified at this point), in that it suggests that Nightingale viewed her life's work as nearly a force of nature. Given the precarious state of her health, and the loss of Sidney and Clough, which were never far from her mind, her expression of confidence in the work's continuance, simply on its own volition, is admirable.

<sup>113</sup> "can" is overscored and replaced with "shall".

Eph: 1.17 that God may give  
the spirit of Wisdom [paraphrased AV]

He shall search for me with all his heart & I will be  
found of him -- to give you an expected end

Jer XXIX 13,14,11 [paraphrased AV]<sup>115</sup>

the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness  
into His marvellous Light

1 Pet II 9 [AV]

God is light 1 John 1.5 [AV]

Where is the way where light dwelleth?

Job 38 19 [AV]<sup>116</sup>

He will bring me forth to the light & I shall behold  
His righteousness

Micah 7.9

And in Thy light shall he see light

Ps. 36.9 [AV]<sup>117</sup>

He shall seek me & find me

Jer XXIX.13<sup>118</sup>

f27 [blank]

f27v

---

<sup>114</sup> Dates written in a different hand.

<sup>115</sup> FN combined these three verses and altered them:

Jer 29:13 And ye (in the MS, ye is written above he; both are intact) shall seek me, and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your (your appears above his) heart. [AV]

Jer 29:14 And I will be found of you (you appears above him), saith the Lord.

<sup>116</sup> An arrow, beginning at "God" in the previous line and ending below "Where" suggests that FN was using the first quote to answer the question raised by God in his reply to Job.

<sup>117</sup> AV reads: "[I]n your light we see light".

<sup>118</sup> AV reads: And ye shall seek me, and find me.

Arise, shine, for thy light is come: & the glory of  
the Lord is risen upon thee.

Isa 60.1 [AV]

The Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting Light  
Isa 60.20<sup>120</sup>

He gave his heart to seek & search out wisdom<sup>121</sup>  
I said, I will be wise  
I applied mine heart to know & to search & to seek out  
Wisdom

Ecc 7.23, [2]5 paraphrased [AV]

And in Thy Light &c Ps [36.9 AV]

I would seek unto God Job V 8 [AV]

f28

One thing have I desired of the L[ord] that will I seek  
after  
My heart said unto Thee, Thy face, Lord will I seek  
Ps 27 4,8 [AV]

I commune with mine own heart: & my spirit made  
diligent search.

Ps. 77.6 [AV]

f29

The highest honour to be God's servant & fellow worker:  
but sometimes a higher honour, & I may be more  
acceptable in failure than in success--or rather  
failure may be the way to success, to God's success,  
with me or without me. Unmitigated success or having  
no sense of failure is often God's failure.  
[body in the breach: persons pass backwards over it]

---

<sup>119</sup> AV reads: That **they** should seek the Lord, if haply  
**they** might feel after him.

<sup>120</sup> AV reads: The Lord shall be thine everlasting light.

<sup>121</sup> This sentence is not quoted from Ecclesiastes; it is  
likely a reflection of Nightingale's own thoughts.

altogether changed by failure.

Our lives cannot be our own: 100 elements come in some which we could, some which we could not foresee which make failure. We must look upon these as God's elements as much as are elements of success.

God is always doing the best. He does the best sometimes by my failure.

How miserable is my faith: the Penitent Thief actually saw God's "kingdom" coming thro[ugh] the most frightful scene of evil the [29v] world has ever seen: the crucifixion of the "Lord", who was to give him the "kingdom," & his own crucifixion which he said was "just"--<sup>122</sup>

I fail more in every work I do than you are failing in this work.<sup>123</sup>

26/4/77

f30

Jan 14-15/78

O God, I solemnly<sup>a</sup> renounce, for Thee all self-satisfaction[,] I accept contradictions  
But O, what is Thy will?  
Show me Thy will: to know it  
to do it

---

<sup>122</sup> This note was written less than a month before Nightingale's fifty-eighth birthday, a time when most women of her age and her time would have been enjoying the peace of a quiet life and grandchildren. At this time she was deeply involved in Indian affairs, specifically in attempts to force the British to escalate their efforts in the area of irrigation. Four million people had died as famine raged through India in 1877, and Nightingale spent fruitless hours haranguing the Government with statistics on the costs and benefits of irrigation. However, many of her most influential Government connections were dead, and the power she had enjoyed in the years immediately following her return from the Crimea had diminished. Unlike the "Penitent Thief", she could see no encouraging end in sight.

<sup>123</sup> Identification of "you" is difficult without further study.



Jan 25-26/78

O God it has all been done for my own satisfaction  
(complacency)<sup>b</sup>

duty = means success  
duty has always meant for me something  
more than I have<sup>c</sup> been able to do

29-30 duty = will of our Father in heaven<sup>d</sup>

after Shore<sup>124</sup>

Jan 26-27 O God, give me nothing, no satisfaction--so  
Thou dost remedy this:

Jan 27-28 O God what will Thou (not I)<sup>e</sup> have them to  
do?

Jan 28-29 you are to be bound O God, not that:  
to the Cross: Take this cup from  
me [Luke 22:42]  
O where is Thy strength?

Jan 29-30 Sell all Thou hast & follow me [Luke 18:22]:  
(never have followed Him yet):  
but how can I follow Him? He had nothing to be  
forgiven: yes I everything.

(Miss Hill)<sup>125</sup>- O God forgive, forgive: All things  
are possible with Thee: take this cup from me.  
Nevertheless Thy will, not mine.

f30v

1878

---

<sup>124</sup> Shore Smith (1831-1894), the son of Mai Smith and Nightingale's uncle Sam. The Nightingale property was entailed so that, if Nightingale's father had no sons, it would pass to Mai upon his death and thereafter to her descendants. Nightingale was deeply devoted to Shore and his wife and daughters.

<sup>125</sup> Octavia Hill (1838-1912), reformer and social activist. Hill worked with John Ruskin to alleviate the suffering of London's working classes caused poor housing conditions, purchasing house leases in the poorer parts of the city and renting them at reasonable cost.

all self satisfaction. But lay not on me  
more than I am able to bear. Lord, Thou  
knowest she was almost too much for me. O  
favour her, favour her, but lay not on me  
more than I can bear

Jan 12-13 not in Thine anger Lest Thou bring me to  
nothing.  
Thou hast brought me to nothing: but Dieu  
seul est, il suffit. I am nothing: but Thou  
art God.

Jan 13-14 Crush me: I deserve it: but O save Thy  
work, it is Thy work.  
Am I floundering about like her?  
O let me not spend a life in judging Mrs. W.  
O God, I cannot, cannot manage those Thou  
hast given me in charge. I am talking to  
God? no, but I am always talking to them.  
"is not crowned, except striving by lawful  
means." God's means: & ways. O is this Thy  
way? is this Thy way? miserable God, to see  
all these ways going wrong. What is Thy  
peace?  
Behold the handmaid of the Lord [Luke 1:38]  
(40 years ago) be it unto me according to Thy  
word.

Fenelon <sup>126</sup>	S. Francois de Sales <sup>127</sup>
Condron	Be content that God
Mme Louisa	should be God

f31

What is civilization? Mind/Intellect coming to be the  
acknowledged power over matter

What is religion? The soul/spirit coming to be the  
acknowledged power.

---

<sup>126</sup> Francois de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651-1715),  
French educator, theologian and Archbishop of Cambrai (1693-  
1714).

<sup>127</sup> Société des Filles de Saint Francois de Sales 1872;  
a religious association for women wishing to live a pious life  
without taking vows. The Salesian Missionaries began serving  
in India in 1889.

f32

June 9/88 4 p.m. dressing room:

Fritz Friedner's letter--wrote to

O the rush of recollections--from the day in my  
room at Embley when I first read a *Kaiserswerth*<sup>129</sup>  
Annual Report  
-from the last day I saw Madame Friedner  
-of past life.

And what He has done for one, for the work  
[footnote in MS: All great Hosp[ita]ls have now  
Training Schools] since that time -in employing me for  
the work.

And I have never thanked Him.

O Lord, I thank Thee: How unworthy--worthless

[[Household troubles disappear--I have only to "walk in  
love.]]

---

He restoreth my soul: He leadeth me in the paths of  
righteousness for His name's sake [Psalms 23:3]

---

Hewlett's letter<sup>130</sup>: to decide his & our course --  
A[rmy] S[anitary] C[ommittee]  
Failure or success are not in our hands

---

O Love, I give myself to Thee  
how much of myself do I give Him?  
Only for Sunday? Only a little bit of my shrivelled  
and blackened heart--of my mind

O take it all:

---

<sup>128</sup> "[c. 1876-1877]" is written in a different hand.

<sup>129</sup> For more on *Kaiserswerth*, see Introduction p.29, n.37.

<sup>130</sup> Dr. Thomas Gillham Hewlett (1831-1889), Deputy  
Surgeon-General of the Bombay Presidency and author of  
*Sanitary State of Bombay* (1869) and *Village Sanitation in  
India* (1891).

Unkind thoughts are sin: He takes them as if they were unkind thoughts of Him. O deliver me from these.<sup>9</sup>

June 10/88 4 a.m.

Humiliation--L[ad]y Rosebury P[rince]ss of Wales  
Little Elizabeth--Pray for her. "If I let you keep her  
(Mrs. N) will (f33) "you love her, as Xt has loved  
you?" O God, enable me.

Let me be humbled, so God be glorified & these poor  
people blessed & comforted

Miss Gibson: She needs humiliation less than I

Miss Buchanan last night - Miss Pringle<sup>131</sup>: Miss  
Crossland

x <sup>132</sup> S.Hamilton	Xtian
Escort	Albert new,
	cheeky <sup>133</sup>
Herbert	Eliz[abe]th
Solly	Alexa-a <sup>134</sup> ,

Miss Missum	Mrs. Hannay
(Leopold)	
Ward well in hand	
no drive	
All wards overfull	

Many Sisters prefer Prob[atione]rs to Extra nurses  
for Special cases  
Extra Staff much better now: more under the Sisters  
Miss [Squires?] (Charity  
Probationers say she & Miss Winterton (Arthur) teach  
them more & Miss Masson.

---

<sup>131</sup> For more on Pringle, see Introduction, pp.34-35.

<sup>132</sup> A footnote in MS reads "want to learn what the  
Matron's position is", ("what" is entered by a caret); the  
note continues on a second line, which reads "supervision her  
chief duty".

<sup>133</sup> "New, cheeky" appears to be a description of the four  
people named opposite; a large right-side brace joins the  
four names.

<sup>134</sup> A second footnote reads "Do not these chits want to  
teach the Matron what her position is?"

Nurses of an inferior class to Edinburgh Nurses

Prob[atione]rs not frequently changed, except the third  
Never 3 new Prob[atione]rs on 1st of month.  
Each one, 2 months in Ward<sup>135</sup>

Thou hast done such wonderful things for me--  
And I--failure, failure, sin, 'making a lie',  
degeneration

f34

"Take it all away". Take away my self, my self's  
will, my self's life, my self's name. (& Jesus, enter  
in, I to rise again with Thee this Easter) & fill me  
with Thyself.

Mrs. Broomhead's death

Love

"I know you not" or know you only by your persecution  
of me.<sup>136</sup>

f35v

April 21/88 6 a.m.

O God I throw the whole charge of my life upon Thee.

household  
India

Wilt Thou accept it?

---

<sup>135</sup> Although the Training School for Nurses had been up  
and running for eighteen years, Nightingale never ceased to  
take a personal interest in, and exert her control over, every  
minute detail of its operation, down to the name, character  
and attitude of each of the nurses in attendance.

<sup>136</sup> This is a very poignant cry. Love had, more often  
than not, been a painful experience for Nightingale, from her  
early "passion" for Marianne Nicholson, to her difficult  
refusal of Richard Monckton Milnes' proposal, her loss of her  
"children" in the Crimea, and of Herbert and Clough, and her  
decades-long alienation from her mother and sister. While she  
had a veritable army of admirers, she had, as Mrs. Gaskell  
said, always stood alone.



power God puts into them.

Bombay Village San[itary] Bill--F.S.C. Ld Goss.

f37

Xmas 1888

I don't like the X Commandm[en]t--it is all 'you shall not, you shall not,' till Xt explained them. Negatives never gave love: love to each other & to God.

And I don't like the (perpetual telling us of the) perfection of having no other will but God's

It ought to be a strong will, to second His: that is the real end & aim & perfection

Let that be our Xmas blessing  
Alas me! how far from it

f38

Jan 11/89

It is my business

No, it's not.

It is your Father's business

It's not my business.

No, it's not.

Take strength in that

It's your Father's

£1.76

1\*

£1.86

f39

March 16/89

"To-day is the day of salvation".  
[Luke 19:09]

6 am --

a perfect  
type of my  
behaviour  
to God

appointed  
me for my  
instruction

Almighty  
dove praying  
for them

As Mrs. N to me, so have I been to God.

"Did you ever ask me?" He says to me -- "What I would have -- in all this

And Thou hast forgiven me out of love this life of





[23 April 1889]<sup>h</sup>

Easter Tuesday -- 2 a.m.

last night no food I could take

God found me Fenelon Fenelon    The would be selfless man  
 & "moral I don't                    awakened to his  
    monstrous self

O Christ. O Christ.

I have never in all my charities prayed for them --  
 never cared whether they had food or not.

O Christ pray for them for I cannot.

Mrs. Thompson<sup>143</sup>      Mrs. Neuld              Nurses &  
    N[ursing]  
    A[ssociation]<sup>144</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup> Nightingale wrote this less than two months before her sister's death. She had nursed Parthe for seven years, during which time her sister had been a complete invalid and extremely difficult to deal with. Woodham-Smith records that "Miss Nightingale's patience had never failed" (423); having gained some insight into her character, I question whether such patience came easily to Nightingale. This note sounds rather like a plea for help from God, to teach her how to love more selflessly.

<sup>143</sup> A Mrs. Thompson is listed in the third group of nurses who went to the Crimea to work under Nightingale. In a letter to Lady Charlotte Canning, Nightingale told of her being sent home drunk in three weeks. A Mrs. Holmes is mentioned in the same letter as "a woman of bad character, but whom [Nightingale] kept, because [she] believe[d] she has really been shocked into reform here" (Vicinus and Nergaard, 124) It is possible that Mrs. Neuld, Harriett Allen, Mrs. Brown and Martha Sheldon were also Crimean nurses.

<sup>144</sup> In 1886 a proposal was made to form a government body to register nurses and standardize their qualifications. Nightingale opposed the proposal because she felt the profession was not yet ready for official standardization and, more importantly, because examination based on ability would not encompass an examination of the character training that she felt was an integral part of the nursing profession. In April 1889, the British Nursing Association (BNA) applied for

Miss Brown

Nelly

Army Sanitary

C[ommittee]

L[or]d Dufferin<sup>145</sup>

Lizzie Holmes  
Martha Sheldon

O thank Thee that Thou hast awakened man at last<sup>1</sup> to  
my wickedness by want of food & cooking for so long--to  
my monstrous Iniquity & self

their Father & my Father  
their God & my God

f41v

Easter Sunday--Monday 1889 5-8 am

To prepare you for Me to be able to rise in your heart  
In love I come to save you.

O Christ--O unfaithful--O save me--O save her--(Mrs.  
N.)

Your salvation is bound up in her.  
I will take the cup of salvation 8.35 & call upon

over (f42)

April 19/89 Good Friday -- perhaps my last

No notice taken of it in my house but salt fish &  
a visit to the Pagan Deity (Beaconsfield)<sup>j</sup> covered  
with primroses

It was Primrose Day--not Good Friday -

And two of us going to confirmation [I gave two  
little lessons]<sup>k</sup> on the Seven Words on the Cross &c

O God, I can do nothing, nothing whatever

f43

[envelope, postmarked NOTTINGHAM U14 JU 21 89]  
[addressed to:]

Miss F. Nightingale  
10 South St.  
London .W. Park Lane

---

a Royal Charter from the government and, at the time of this  
note, Nightingale was embroiled in the controversy. For more  
on the BNA, see Introduction, pp.33-34.

<sup>145</sup> Viceroy of India in the 1880s.



You have insight -- but you can give no prescriptions.

There has been no spirit of religion in St.  
T[homas]'s<sup>147</sup>

f45 [blank]

f45v

Dr. Ord God's call

*Miss Masson*

She raises her eyebrows & the thing [is]  
removed that ought to be removed. She waves her little  
finger & the thing brought that ought to be brought the  
Patients in perfect order<sup>p</sup>

Jan 29/90            Selection of Candidates  
Now is my soul--      And what shall I say ?....?

Yet for this cause came I unto this hour--

*Father, glorify Thy name--not mine.*

f46

11/3/90

Miss P. L[ad]y H.

O that this could be made an occasion of drawing  
together the two Churches<sup>148</sup>--at least in mutual  
understanding instead of the constant & increasing  
misrepresentation & antagonism on both sides.

When there is a Cardinal<sup>149</sup> of the party it is  
worth trying.

And we must be straight forward because he is so

---

<sup>147</sup> As medical knowledge increased so did secularization  
of nursing, a development which would have been abhorrent to  
Nightingale. Nursing was her work, which was God's work, and  
so a "spirit of religion" would have been, in her eyes, an  
integral part of hospital routine.

<sup>148</sup> Miss Pringle had moved, by this time, to the Roman  
Catholic Church.

<sup>149</sup> Cardinal Manning had converted to Roman Catholicism,  
and there was considerable disagreement at this time over the  
validity of the orders of the Church of England.

f47 [blank]

f47v

Because Tennyson is ridiculous, that does not make God ridiculous: & God would be ridiculous if he created only abortions, who certainly can't help coming into the world.

f48

13/3/90

The R[oman] C[atholic] Church wants to have both.

1 no distinction of creed

2 entire adherence to their creed

1. Adhesion to themselves (consequently proselytizing) is essential to your own & other's salvation ∴ every good R.C. must do his or her best to proselytize all under his or her influence.<sup>9</sup>

heterodoxy

a moral fault<sup>r</sup>

2. it is a grievous "wrong" & an unpardonable "bigotry" not to have a R[oman] C[atholic] (that is, a proselytizer) at the head of a Protestant Institution.

See the length of the sword by the sheath (measure the depth of this conviction by our misery at parting with Miss Pringle)<sup>150</sup>,

"Father forgive them["]. [Luke 23:34]

f48v

There's no reasoning with R[oman] C[atholic]'s because everything must give way to Salvation<sup>s</sup>

f49

April 4/90

Crucifixion of our Lord -- April 7

Gethsemane: Midnight

Matt xxvi 30-46

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<sup>150</sup> Miss Pringle had converted to the Catholic church (date uncertain) and Nightingale must have been desolate to lose such a close friend, although, as indicated in f46, she viewed this as a chance to "[draw] together the two Churches".

to 9.30 ..	John xxiii 28-40	xix 1-17
Crucifixion 9 am to 3 p.m	Luke xxiii 26-38	- 43-46
	Matt xxvii 45-49	
(Darkness - noon)	John xix 25-30 <sup>t</sup>	
Burial 4 p.m	Matt xxvii 51-61	
	John xix 31-37-42	

f50

[stamped diagonally across top right-hand side of note:  
 "Telegraph, Steeple Claydon Buck[ingham]s[hire].";  
 stamped sideways on right-hand side: "Claydon House,  
 Winslow, Buck[ingham]s[hire]."]

Jan 9-/91

O God forgive me, O God save me.  
 Christ, I have never been Thy servant  
 Make me *Thy servant altogether*--not the servant of  
 many, seeking their sympathy not Thine. I have never  
 drawn near to Thee. O make me

[[.E. does not light my fire]]<sup>151</sup>,

Pay me that Thou owest, I cry in my heart.

And I have never paid Thee that I owe Thee for Thy  
 wonderful gifts to me Now, (f50v)

The birds fighting instead of feeding & so losing the  
 food

So when we criticize each other instead of thinking  
 what is to be done & so lose the opportunity.

Stat [illegible] Professorship  
 Glory to God

f51

Jan 9/91

3

---

<sup>151</sup> Nightingale was nearly blind by 1891, and likely completely dependent upon others for the simple comforts such as a fire in the morning to warm her room. Her recording of this neglect on the part of "E." (possibly a servant) is another indication of her attention to detail. On the reverse of this note (f51v) she refers again to the incident, writing that "He" found her with an unlit fire.

I have never sought Him, never been His servant to  
all these servants & family in all this Claydon time,  
not praying for others-- but only acting.

[[He found me when E. did not light the fire]] (f51v)

2

now Thou art drawing me near to Thee, making me Thy  
servant by that shock. And I have never served those  
whom Thou hast put under me for me to serve. I have  
never felt anything but pay me that Thou owest

Jan 5-7/91

Dear GW.'s jabber about herself & her doings for  
others--doll Shock  
So I jabber--So I do not serve these sweet things.  
So I always seek my own glory -- not Thine Glory  
T[urn] O[ver]

f52

Good Friday 1891

O God, the Father of our Saviour, let to-day when He  
died be the death of all our mean prides, our  
selfishnesses, littlenesses, doing things to be seen of  
men, falsenesses. Let us be filled instead with His  
holy spirit--with love to Him & to each other, which  
will drive out self. And let us steer a straight  
course with Thee, instead of drifting along with the  
foolish virgins. And (f52v) And [sic] let our little  
household be one family in Jesus Christ. And let us  
each one of us be a servant to all, as He was.

f53

April 16-17/91

This day is the gift of Eternal Life offered to you for  
nothing.

What is the Gift of Eternal Life?

The kingdom of heaven in your heart here now  
of God within  
of Love & hereafter without

O God give it me--give it us  
Is this little household the k[ingdom] of heaven?

f54





f56 [blank]

f56v

May 31/91

2

The Promised Land--till she looked for it *for others*  
*she could not see* the Promised Land.

You cannot be saved till you have ceased to look for  
your own salvation.

He is here--He is with me. He is *in* me.

Servants--so much with you--noticing you so much--pray  
that Christ may be seen in you  
today.

Trust in God

Help of the helpless [Lyte, 1847]

f57

Aug 7/91 [footnote in MS reads: Embley--saw where my  
father died]

*35 years of non-union with God*

Union with God (Lawrence, Oliphant)  
thro[ugh] service for the neighbour  
thus only can the neighbour be served  
thus only can man be made a fitting instrument

I have not loved Thee: but Thou hast loved me  
I have not found Thee: but Thou hast found me

How to co-operate with the beloved dead

In the daily activities of life not by decorating the  
grave

f58 [blank]

f58v

Dr. Norman Moore -- Embley Aug/91

[footnote in MS reads: Miss Simpson & [illegible]  
daughter of Dean of Exeter will live in same house?]

Wapping  
Mrs. N. Moore -- Carving  
    annual sale  
    self-suffering  
Little Gadste L Browne  
Carving

Edward Sam Hartford

f59

Nov 26-27/91

night of misery

O loving loving Father pull my soul out of the pit--for  
thine own Sake.

Remember my iniquities no more- but do not say:  
Forgive as I forgive but *send me Thy* love. Forgive us  
all five as *me* the greatest sinner of us all

O God let me omit nothing to help these poor rural  
mothers & girls all over England: County Council<sup>154</sup>

I who have omitted every highest motive all my life-  
-not Xtian -not even a gentlewoman.

O God let me omit nothing to help the Bombay  
f60 [blank] (f60v)

2

rural poor.

O God *don't* let me omit anything to help those who  
are nearest to me or **dependent** on me--I who have sinned  
so in all this.

**God's past--not my past.**

f61

Jan 6-7/92 Claydon

Not weighing our offences  
but pardoning our merits

O how I have weighed their offences -- [illegible]

---

<sup>154</sup> Social unrest, including labour riots, had convinced Gladstone's government to establish, in 1888, rural self-government through County Councils.

Jan 25-26/92

Crawford<sup>155</sup>--Siam: India

O God, give us holiness [footnote in MS reads: "a new heart--[[I am giving it you]] (wholly for Thy cause

O God, do this thing for us  
& let us do it for Thee [an "x" appears here,  
referring to the same footnote]

O God, forgive me as I forgive & pardon the forgiveness  
of love

Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do? [Acts 9:6] special  
blessing-- distinct guidance

f63

Jan 29/30 1892

Mr. Morant: Fred

Power Divine

I thought only of vanity & not of poor old King  
what w[oul]d be thought of me

or Court Doctor, Siam  
or Gordon Boys' Home<sup>156</sup>  
or M. Robin Jacquemyns

O God, grant us holiness (wholly for Thy cause  
or poor messengers

O God, poor old King      {O God, do this thing for us  
Gordon Boys' Home      {And let us do it for Thee"  
India Office P.S.S.  
Siam

infirmities

---

<sup>155</sup> Possibly Robert Wigram Crawford (1813-1889) of Crawford, Colvin and Company, East India Merchants and Agents. A well-known reformer, Crawford was also Chairman of the India Railway. (*Who's Who of British Members of Parliament* Vol. I, edited by Michael Stenten (Hassocks: Humanities Press Inc., 1976).

<sup>156</sup> The Gordon Home for Destitute Boys was founded in memory of General C.G. Gordon (d.1885), the hero of Khartoum, after his death. Nightingale admired Gordon for "his loyalty and sense of duty" (Vicus and Nergaard, 378).

f64

Feb 7/92

Calls to work ?to holiness

Lea Hurst: Shore's door--Behold the handmaid of the  
Lord

Embley Feb. 7/37 "The Way to do Good"

Lea Hurst /48 on my knees on Middle Hurst: not going to  
Hamburg nuns

Alexandria/50 to throw my body in the breach<sup>v</sup>

Bridge Hill/44 call to Hospital work  
which have I followed?

Feb 7/92 South St. God is the Commander

He lays out the plan of battle

[do not know how to cope with the many new engagements]

f65

March/92

O Infinite Love that plannest the battles, & allottest  
each post & art C[ommander] in C[hief] make Thyself  
known to me, make Thyself known in me

I have never counted myself one of Thy servants. I  
must get out of this mess alone. Wilt Thou count me  
one of Thy servants? Wilt Thou take command  
altogether?

O, give me love & truth & judgment--a right judgment,  
in all things. Give me Thy holy Spirit. **Light to  
shine as on all who do not shut it out** What an  
honour to be employed by God as His fellow worker. If  
He stops employing me, then I know *He is working on*, &  
perhaps He will employ me again.

f66 [blank]

f66v

2

Humbling  
me

Glorifying  
Thee

blessing & comforting  
them

Not what I am, O Lord, but what Thou art over & over  
again is the reason of my hope.

I cast myself & all my work on Thee, yield me to  
Thy love.

failure of Telegram to Bombay  
I was cock-a-hoop

My illness: Pringle  
Boys: Leopold  
7 mo. away: Gordon  
no respecter of rules I accomplish  
My neglects the results

12/3/92

O God, my C[ommander] in C[hief] my Father my Friend  
direct me Cannot serve God except as Father

f67

March 14/92

P[rince]ss [Chris]tian  
I.O

Prayers  
And the sinners, now who turn  
To the Cross their aged eyes  
*All the love of Christ shall learn  
At His feet in Paradise.*

Except the Lord build the city, they  
labour but in vain that build it  
Except the Lord keep the city, the  
Watchman waketh but in vain. [Psalms 127:1]

f68 [blank]

f68v

[address stamped diagonally across left bottom side of  
page reads: Telegraph, Steeple Claydon,  
Buck[ingham]s[hire]"; address stamped sideways on left  
side of page reads: Claydon House, Winslow,  
Buck[ingham]s[hire]", overscored.]

2

Not for happiness not<sup>157</sup> for peace can you be  
holy/wholly for God rather, you must wish to go thro'  
fire & water & humiliation for God

---

<sup>157</sup> "not" replaces "but", which is overscored.

March 27/92

Behold the handmaid of the Lord [Luke 1:38] - Lea Hurst

1836

I have never been His handmaid---Wilt Thou accept me  
now?

==

Lord what wilt Thou have me to do? [Acts 9:6]

What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?

[Matthew 20:32]

==

The Lord thy God shall answer thee

This is the pathway for thy feet

O hither turn no more to stray

==

O gracious God, work on, work on

I am suspended.

==

Thou[ugh] across thy path shall steal. The waves of  
sorrow, sad & slow

f70 [blank]

f70v

2

"It is by the ceaseless battery of a common place  
temptation that the moral nature is undermined & the  
citadel of great souls won"

Always speaking not for Truth but for praise.

What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?

[Matthew 20:32]

Let me be humbled, so Thou be glorified & these

My God, give me Truth & Love

f71

March 31/92

Lord what wilt Thou have me to do? [Acts 9:6]

What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?

[Matthew 20:32]

Lord that Thou wilt show me what Thou wilt have me to  
do?

Bu [sic]

Ap 22/92

A little longer  
Just now nothing seems worth caring for but the  
highest--love & forgiveness & suffering & joy--& the  
counsel of the Highest. There is no shame more--nor  
humiliation nor drawing back. For He that is mightiest  
shall guide & a little child shall lead

And the blessedness of it outweighs the sadness--

Duty's Bondsman 158 -  
p. -172

f73

May 7-8/92

I cast it all into Thy hands, O God. Wilt Thou accept  
it? [God has given me to do now what I cannot do.

==

"To have some one to love worth [footnote in MS reads:  
"Yes, but our enemies are the ones worth loving--those  
whom we dislike & are troublesome to us--or those to  
whom we wish to do merely our duty, not what is best  
for them.] loving--& some thing to do worth doing is--  
going to heaven"

O God, grant me love--grant me heaven's grace  
And let my love the answer be  
To grace Thy love has brought to me

f74 [blank]

f74v

2

May 7-8/92

My flesh & my heart faileth -- But Thou art the  
strength of my heart & my portion for ever.

One look from Thee subdues the disobedient will

And Thy rebellious worm is still  
Thou art as ready to forgive

f75

Ascension Day  
May 26/92

Teaching all things whatsoever I have commanded you  
[cf. Matthew 28:20]

Parting Command  
(love.) truth)

And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the  
world-- Parting Promise

*Not What I am. O Lord, but what Thou Art*

O Lord tell me what to say -- in this [illegible]  
of Nursing & Training of Nurses. Tell me, inspire me,  
direct, control, suggest this day  
All I should think or do & say

2

f76 [blank]

f76v

2

Let me be humbled, so Thou be glorified & these poor  
people blessed & comforted.

f77

June 2-3/92 10 S[outh] St at 72!

Thou art here, in this room, *because Thou lovest me.* O  
how canst Thou love me?

O Christ make *me* love others, as Thou lovest me--for  
Not what I am, O Lord, but what Thou art

O Christ, let this house, let all, be Thine and me be  
Thy guest - {The darkness deepens:  
  {No: so shall there be *light*\*

for "putting the world to rights" the daily reading --  
to be fitted into the various doings of the [...]

f78

Whit Sunday June 3/92

P[rin]ce[ss] of Wales  
Success  
O pardon



over this difficult time, this misery [our] just  
opposition to R[oyal] Charter<sup>158</sup>

O God give us His holy Spirit--not of religious  
excitement but of His good sense & wisdom to make "our  
duty & our business one"

the spirit of His power & of love & of a sound mind the  
spirit of counsel & of understanding--to teach us what  
is wrong & what is right. to give us a right  
judgment<sup>159</sup> the spirit of love, joy, peace, not the  
peace of absence of distress but of 'long-suffering,  
gentleness', goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.

joint heirs of salvation--the greatest tie of all

f79

June/92

You are keeping the Lord waiting  
-the indwelling God  
[[indwelling love, gentleness, faith, meekness,  
temperance]]

that you<sup>160</sup> may give light to all that are in the  
house

Oh Come to Jesus now  
Jesus is here<sup>161</sup>

June 17/92 O Father of an Infinite Majesty waiting for  
me

T[urn] O[ver]

f80 [blank]

---

<sup>158</sup> For more on the Princess of Wales and the Royal  
Charter, see Introduction, pp.33-34.

<sup>159</sup> "wrong...judgment" has been added between the lines,  
so that the MS originally read: "to teach us what is the  
spirit of love...".

<sup>160</sup> "that you may" originally read "that your light may".  
The final "r" and the word "light" are overscored.

<sup>161</sup> "Oh come...is here" is printed rather than written,  
perhaps to emphasize the phrase.

June 17/92

June 16  
Mrs. Sutherland  
all contretemps  
Lady Burdett [illegible]

O Father of an Infinite Majesty waiting for me

(Let me be humbled, so Thou be glorified, and these  
poor people blessed & comforted)

And giving Thy *personal interest* in all my  
(our) concerns

Come into my heart & dwelling & drive me out

f81

August 31/92 Claydon

Voice

Teach me, my, God & King

In all things Thee to see (Thou who art Love &  
Wisdom & Power

(in all these tangles & difficulties),

And what I do in any thing

To do it as to Thee

Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do? [Acts 9:6]

Let me be humbled,	}	so Thou be glorified
& evermore rejoice in}		& give us a right
judgment		
Thy holy comfort	}v	in all things

& these poor people blest & comforted

f82 [blank]

f82v

2

This is the last day of August [footnote in MS reads:  
Let us not miss the appointed hour Save, Lord, by hope  
or fear. Save us both]

"Letter from Hell." This will certainly be the last  
chance for becoming wholly God's in what I do or say.

Teach me, my God & King in all things Thee to see  
-- in all this labyrinth & perplexity & failure

Open our ears to hear  
f83

Sept. 14/92 from April 4/88

He, Sir G. Grey<sup>162</sup>, lost himself that he might find a higher self; & those who saw him bowed their heads in reverence before the presence of a power that was not of this world.

Above all things he did not like to discuss the characters or motives of others

f84 [blank]

f84v

"Those hues that mark the sun's decline  
So grand, so gorgeous, Lord, are thine."

f85

Oct 7-8 Claydon--a clearer atmosphere = heaven  
[footnote in MS reads: the fiery furnace of heaven & God with you]

6.a.m. greater temptations, greater evils, = marpt [sic]  
greater divine dwelling in her

O God, God, God, save me from the precipice, from myself, from my own vain glory.

O God, I am willing to go into prison & into judgment if Thou art with me.  
into humiliation<sup>163</sup> & "hell," if it is Thy

---

<sup>162</sup> Sir George Grey (1789-1882) was a Whig Member of Parliament apparently admired by Nightingale. He served as Secretary at War under Melbourne from January to August 1841, as Home Secretary under Russell from June 1846 to February 1852, under Palmerston from February 1855 to February 1858 and July 1861 to October 1865, and again under Russell from October 1865 to June 1866; he also served as Secretary for the Colonies under Aberdeen from 1854 to 1855. (*Who's Who of British Members of Parliament* Vol. I, Hassocks: Humanities Press Inc., 1976).

<sup>163</sup> Beneath "humiliation" and connected to it with a wavy line are the words "so I am with Thee".

And Thou wilt bring me from prison & from judgment.

While I myself a[m] cast away And who shall declare  
her generation?<sup>2</sup>

f86

Oct 11-12/92 Claydon unreality      L[ad]y missionaries  
W.S.S.<sup>164</sup>  
V.S. all for self

Come in, Lord Jesus, Holy Spirit, come into my heart  
now drive out self--monstrous self  
All for self--there is no room for Thee  
Come in & make no room for me 72 years nemesis of me

[Silence -- such a silence]

& that these poor people may be blessed & comforted

[[Is He come in?]]

f87

Nov 11-12/92 Claydon

O Father (not "of Lies" but of Truth)  
of Truth, in whom is no variableness nor shadow of  
turning.

Of His own will begat He us in the spirit<sup>165</sup> of  
truth, that we might be a kind of first fruits of His  
creatures

[[And what an ignoble lying show "first fruits" of  
nursing I have been!]]<sup>aa</sup>

O God who art the Builder--not I--build up what  
Thou wouldest, not I, have done

f88

South St. Nov 21-22/92

Claydon	R[oyal] Charter:	1st day toil
	failure	Pamphlet F.V. fail
	Sir H[arry] V[erney]	-Boothby

---

<sup>164</sup> Possibly Women's Suffrage Society.

<sup>165</sup> "word" is written above "spirit", both being included.

ye everlasting doors, & the King of glory shall come  
in. [Psalms 24:7]

Who is the King] of G[lory] The Lord strong in battle  
O God of battles, steel Thy soldiers' hearts against  
happy go lucki-ness, courtiership fashion & mere money-  
making

==

God: I have conducted you all your life with  
mine<sup>167</sup> own hand --

O God, conduct me now -- do *Thou* bring good out of  
this failure. O God teach me what to do

T[urn] O[ver]

Guide us O Thou great Jehovah<sup>168</sup>

f89 [blank]

f89v

2

from p.1 [sic]

in bringing good out of the R[oyal] Charter blow.

Bring good Thyself -

Our golden bowl is broken [Eccl 12:6]: dissolved in  
the acid of their R[oman] Ch[urch]

Perverse & foolish but still in love He caught me

And home, rejoicing--*he rejoicing*--brought me

We are in God's hand, brother, not in theirs. the R.  
Council's [illegible]

He that hath clean hath clean hands & a pure heart --

he sees God's glory [Psalms 24:4]

O God wash my hands clean & my heart pure.

f90

South St. Dec 5/92 2-4 a.m. waked by illness

---

<sup>166</sup> "hearts" is written above "heads", both being  
included.

<sup>167</sup> FN originally wrote "my" and replaced it with "mine";  
note how her language deliberately reflects the language of  
the AV.

<sup>168</sup> Welsh hymn by W. Williams (1745), translated by P.  
Williams (1771). See Frost, 1962.

Come in Lord, come into my heart now [footnote in MS  
reads: What shall I do (not what shall I say) to be  
saved? Lord, what will Thou have me to do? (not to  
say)]

He *is* come in  
I *am* accepted

perplexity

Miss Frere's request

Lord. I have given up my will to Thee--Keep me to it

"openly confess"

God will do it for you -  
That was a miracle -- your seeing Christ at that moment  
He thought of you in love  
Who measures life by love

f91 [blank]

f91v

2

The *facts* of life are also the Word of God.  
To<sup>169</sup> Those who kick against them will be said how  
truly: "It is *hard* for thee to kick against the  
pricks". [Acts 26:14]

They are there not to criticize (unless criticism  
means to draw out the highest ideal<sup>170</sup>) -- not to  
rebel against but to work up into God's ideal for each  
one of us.

And our feelings, our words, nay our very<sup>bb</sup>  
prayers are only of use when in close relation with the  
*facts* of life which are God's facts, God's word--the  
groundwork of the "the Bible within us".

f92

---

<sup>169</sup> This sentence originally began "Those who kick", but  
was changed to "To [t]hose who kick", apparently at the time  
of writing, rather than at a later date.

<sup>170</sup> "meaning" is written above "ideal, both being  
included.

Our patience with our circumstances & ourselves more content to work where we are placed--more anxiety to fulfil our appointed work than to see the result thereof--are not these the fruits of God's Laws? And so God gives us to continue in our "blessed Drudgery" which is the discipline He sees best for most of us.

What a preachment for Rosy's Wedding day.

f92v

Medical & Surgical  
evens & morns

Senior: Wards  
Junior: Ward maids

Senior	2 Day Assistants	housekeeping classes
Miss Spencer <sup>171</sup>	1 Home Sister	came a little before 10
	1 Night Supt or 2 latter part of it Laundry Head Kitchen Head <sup>172</sup>	

unity

Chapter--every evening 8 o'cl or 9. to 10 an hour  
talk over the nurses

Miss Ashby Brompton

f93

Feb 1/93

O God: I am here, my sinful child  
And I, Thy sinful child, am here.  
Come in, Lord Jesus, come into my heart now: tho' it  
may be with humiliation, with loss & trial with self-

---

<sup>171</sup> Frances Elizabeth Spencer was Matron of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary from 1887 to 1907. Nightingale wrote to her on 16 August 1893 to voice her concerns about the trend toward nursing's becoming fashionable, a tendency she attributed to the formation of the Royal British Nursing Association, and especially its patronage by a royal princess (Vicinus and Nergaard, 427).

<sup>172</sup> "2 Day Assistants...Kitchen Head" appears to have been written first, in the centre of the page; the rest of the notes seem to have been jotted down in various available spaces.

Let me forgive & seek forgiveness.

Come into my heart with lessons of patience,  
gentleness & love: of purity & humility.

Keep my thoughts in order. Be really my Master

I have given myself to Thee--Give me eternal life  
this day.

f94

3

Have faith in God

Tousaint

f94v

2

Feb 1/93

Use me, O Lord, as Thou wilt. Unless Thou use me, I  
am helpless.

Da quod jubes et jube quod vis.<sup>173</sup>

Let me not miss the appointed hour.

I am still alive to-day<sup>174</sup>[,] one more day "my  
faith by works to prove". But Thou must do it all.

Another month--one more month may still be mine (old  
Treffy)

f95

Feb 16-17/93

Bless the Lord, O my soul. And all that is within me  
[Psalms 103:1], all, repentance, remorse, anxiety,  
disappointment, all, bless His holy name.

Bless the Lord, O my Soul, & forget not all His  
benefits- [Psalms 103:3]

---

<sup>173</sup> Quoted from Augustine: "Give what you command and  
command what you wish". Augustine *Confessions, II Volumes*.  
Trans. by William Watts. (London: W. Heineman, 1968), 10:29,  
at beginning and end of the passage, and 10:37.

<sup>174</sup> This sentence originally began with the word "Am", so  
that Nightingale possibly meant it to be a question, rather  
than a statement.



~~all thy iniquities, who healeth all thy diseases, who~~  
crowneth thee with loving kindness & tender mercies,  
Who redeemeth thy life from destruction. Who  
satisfieth thy mouth (f96 [blank])(f96v)

2

with good things [footnote in MS reads: Prepare  
yourself to see people by presenting them before God -  
that gives patience<sup>175</sup> & sympathy[.] Give us this day  
our daily bread Dr. O[liphant]], so that *thy youth*  
*shall be renewed like the eagle's,*

The Lord executeth righteousness & judgment for all  
that are oppressed.

Mr. Higham, those whom I have oppressed & those who  
have oppressed me<sup>dd</sup>

f97

Feb 19-20/93

Nursing: Chicago

The truth shall prosper, but not through me.

O God make this truth to prosper *in* me, by me, if  
Thou wilt, *with me or without me.*

Da quod jubes et jube quod vis

f98

March 7-8/93

Was March 7 to have been my  
death day?

Lady B.C.

Chicago

Christ made me His own

What is it to be His own?

To serve God.

"Ready to die?"

ready to die?"

To know that One<sup>176</sup> who is holier, higher, larger than  
our own acts is enwrapping us, guiding us, guiding the  
world--leading us by a way which we have not known even  
by cold perspirations

f99

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<sup>175</sup> "patience" replaces "kindness", which is overscored.

<sup>176</sup> "One" replaces "He", which is overscored.

Chicago  
Incapacity  
Want of food  
[illegible]

Christ has made me His own (at 72) to serve God<sup>177</sup> to  
take the step from death unto life to-day

I accept Him (oh impudence!) to-day & God His  
Father as my Father, my Master, and my dearest Friend.  
He offers Himself<sup>178</sup>--to-day I accept the cup of  
salvation (in everything that happens) offered so full  
& free--to-day I offer myself in return to be trained  
to serve & please the Lord God<sup>179</sup> as His handmaid &  
to love Him as His child--& to love as my sisters His  
other children especially. (f99v)

2

Christ made me His own

1. to serve & love God as *He* did
2. to be aware of the moral government as much  
larger, higher, holier than my own acts (in which  
lies my hope) as is His material government than  
anything I can do in wielding the stars  
He must govern & train the Nurses--not I.

To ask for His holy spirit many times to-day

*I* have not to bear the burden.

I am He who bears the burden & so gladly

f100

March 15-16

Complete  
reunion  
with divine  
purity<sup>180</sup>

March 13-16

Chicago  
Savonarola  
Henry V

---

<sup>177</sup> "to serve God" is written below the line and appears  
to have been added as an afterthought.

<sup>178</sup> "He offers Himself" is printed rather than written,  
and appears to have been added; it has been squeezed between  
the two lines above and below.

<sup>179</sup> "the Lord" is written above "God", both being  
included.

<sup>180</sup> The cramped appearance and the slant of this entry  
suggest its later addition.

she shall be renewed--he shall be renewed  
renovated.

==

Commit thy way unto the Lord [Psalms 37:5] -trust also  
in

Him-& He shall bring it to pass-Chicago by Monday  
20th

==

in great straights--so ill--no help--eyes  
But He who has conducted thee by a way thou hast not  
known so long, surely He will conduct thee in this

==

His hand shall lead her still.

f101

March 21/93

Voice

End of Chicago paper

The Hour & the Man

Christ our Lord is risen to-day<sup>181</sup>  
Our triumphant holy day

Sun rose in a fog like a raw scarlet poppy but with  
bright blue above & below it--so cold

O Christ let not our fog obscure Thy rising like that--  
like a chapter read by memory & routine--without senses  
or feeling[, ] without love to God or man

O Christ give me love to those in my house. Then shall  
I be able somewhat to see thy love and (f102 [blank],  
f102v)

2

feel Thy warmth. Not like a red poppy[.] Sun all shut  
out by the fumes & fogs of town

On the threshold of Nursing

The future which I shall not see when every mother is  
a *Health Nurse* & every poor *sick* person has the  
opportunity of being *District-nursed* at home  
God did not mean *mothers* to be alway accompanied by  
*Doctors*.

---

<sup>181</sup> Opening line from a Charles Wesley hymn (1739). See  
Frost, 1962.

civilization--never intended to take in the whole sick population

f103

March 27/93

Cor mundum in me crea, Domine<sup>182</sup>  
That prayer of Savonarola's was answered in his  
martyrdom. Then he sought only "complete reunion" with  
the "Divine "purity".

March 28/93

Some great purpose which could exalt the common deeds  
of a dusty life with divine ardour--not a mere dragging  
at tangled threads.<sup>183</sup>

f104

April 25-26/93                      Training\*\*

Fight the good fight of faith: lay hold on eternal  
life: this life is passing away from you.

Judas: to pull himself together by God's grace & give  
all that remained to give to His service  
Instead of this, his base soul rushed straight into the  
Presence of the Judge of all the earth

Peter rose again because (of his genuine)<sup>184</sup> love  
(for)<sup>ff</sup> Christ x x x Christ's love, free &  
boundless.

T[urn] O[ver]

f105

Moses      God points out a way, for you, makes you want  
to do something *for Him*, to come forward as in

---

<sup>182</sup> Create a pure heart in me O Lord, Psalms 51:10.

<sup>183</sup> The word "Church" is added above "threads", suggesting  
Nightingale's dissatisfaction with the way the church related  
to the everyday lives of its adherents; cf. Erb and Erb, pp.8,  
10 and 16.

<sup>184</sup> The words "he did" appear above "(of his genuine)".

raise a little up the tone of the people you live among, [[Don't begin, says the Devil, what you will not be able to carry out]]

Moses--hasty temper--people ever dissatisfied & murmuring, ungrateful

God was training him thro[ugh] all life's ups & downs, just as He is training you & me now. He sees the sort of training you need in your work, home & every day life, & gives it you. It rests with you to accept it or no. It may be your lot to live as Moses did among people who are always provoking & irritating you--that is the training to make you patient & teach you self-control--or you may be with those who are always mocking your efforts to live a noble higher life. That is the way training to make you loyal & true to your colours deliberately choosing God's side (by love) (f105v)

2

is brought before every one of us to-day: how are we showing our love to Christ From His Cross He speaks to you to-day to show you what your life might be if only you would make it so

"I loved you--do you for My sake love one another"?

"I can do nothing: God and I can do everything"

f106

April 28/93

3

He was indeed backed up by superhuman strength--he was urged on by the strongest power in the world--Love.

St. Paul-- Conversion means "turning right round" changing not in fits & starts but altogether

Never once did he allow himself to feel safe, to forget what he had been: in the midst of his most brilliant sermons he would remind his hearers how x x he had persecuted--stood by when Stephen was stoned, how weak he was "& only kept up by God's strength & the love of Christ" [[Then how can I not love others?]]. Now that is the spirit in which you must work if you want to alter your lives--Jesus claims you to be His soldier & servant as He claimed Paul on the D[amascus] road[.] Nothing so fatal as self-confidence--you are never in

May 1-2/93

-Loss of B. Coutts--paper  
-Mrs. S I

Lay hold on eternal life--love

Lord how can I? Give it me.

Let me will & pray, will & pray never to be sardonic,  
ever to be love--every moment of the day.

that is to lay hold on eternal life impossible to me--

all things are possible to Thee

This is inspired by the Holy Spirit--which will carry  
it thro[ugh]Some of the disciples did not so much as (f108 [blank],  
f108v)

## 2

know that there was a Holy Spirit. And we who know we  
make no use of Him

f109

May 5-6/93

Journée des Malades  
Gratry?

Dies irae, dies illa

Solvat saeculum in favillâ

Ne me perdas illa die.<sup>185</sup>Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit  
[Luke 23:46]suivre  
dans tous  
les replis  
de mon ame

Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do? [Acts 9:6]

Why do you judge your brother?

You do it unto Me.

Grace = active loving Presence of God in the  
supernatural

Grace = xapis = love

---

<sup>185</sup> From the traditional Medieval hymn *Dies Irae* by Thomas of Celano (13th century), translated by W.J. Irons (1848) for *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Day of wrath, that day  
The age will dissolve in ashes  
Let me not perish on that day.

f110

You believe in the Word:  
You don't believe in the Work.

This appe?

Nowhere Christ says: Blessed are the fashionable.

but Blessed are the persecuted [Matthew 5:11]--that is  
they who have to work against fashion & popularity.

f110v [blank]

f111

2

The Spirit of Nursing is all changing.

Pss [Chris]tian--no preparation

jumps right into it in her drawing-room dress  
*Madame Louise de France*--prepared by going into a  
Convent

Now, Countesses & Duchesses are put at the head of  
everything (Committee) of which they can barely  
remember the name--& to which they do not give a day's  
work.<sup>186</sup>

two weaknesses of the present day /over

June 5-6/7/93

O God do I care for the Advent of our King--for His  
"kingdom" to "come" (for which we pray every day) more  
than for anything else--do I care for it at all?

The Lord's Prayer, which is to be our model, teaches us  
to pray for others (God knows *what* they want) before we  
pray for our own wants. Have I ever prayed for others?

---

<sup>186</sup> This sentence originally read: Now Countesses &  
Duchesses put themselves at the head of everything....  
"Themselves" and "of" have been overscored, and the "are" is  
superscripted, suggesting that Nightingale's original thought--  
that the "Countesses" and "Duchesses" were instrumental in  
taking control of the Committees--was modified to place them  
under the control of another power. This change displaces  
their responsibility for their lack of commitment to the work.

Oh words! words! what a power are words  
what has Pss Xtian done for the "education" &  
"training" of Nurses? what for the "status" of Nurses?  
Is it by Registration? or by her fine dress? &  
receptions?  
how has she informed herself?  
Pray for her! this new Superior of Nursing

June 7/93

[f112]<sup>99</sup>

June 7-8/93

Perhaps I may be preparing & being trained for work in  
another world by humiliation, even from "attendants",  
failure, &c. the consequence of living in a state of  
"darkness" in this.  
prayerlessness

Never to speak with authority or dictation--patience,  
forbearance, encouragement, entreaty, the way to teach  
or influence.

How have I done it?

f113

June/93

3

Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.  
[Luke 23:34]  
Father, forgive me, for I knew not what I did.

O God, the Father of an infinite Majesty.

Give me Thy holy Spirit

(20 times a day)

to convince me of sin, of righteousness

above all to give me love

a real, [blank], individual love for everyone.

this alone will make us happy

without this we cannot be happy

Holy Spirit Holy life to see [Chris]t's love

I vow if He will give me the strength, the reason--  
confession love forgiveness suffering joy

Counsel of the Highest to steady each around me



f114 [blank]

f114v

4

Thy Holy Spirit--(20 times a day)

to give me--nothing else matters--love, forgiveness,  
suffering, joy--and the counsel of the Highest  
& we may be sure of having it, if only we wish &  
[illegible] wholly to do His work.

to give me a right judgment in all things & to rejoice  
in His holy comfort

to give me love, joy, peace, long suffering,  
gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance,  
humiliation, patience & sympathy

f115

5

Thy Holy Spirit--to do the Saviour's work--& to bring  
every one to Him are

1. a holy Life--holy: *consecrated to the divine use*

2. influence on each small circle

to have this--you must study the minds & characters  
around you--& then apply with right judgment the truth  
in love--the food, the medicine appropriate

Without these two

3. your great schemes of usefulness will be for  
ambition, for yourself, not for God

f116 [blank]

f116v

6

-Thy holy Spirit

to make me learn sympathy with them by my own  
troubles & illness--instead of making me think that  
they should allow for me.

O I never prayed for any of them A lie is my strength  
I only talked of them not God

In power of Father of lies<sup>187</sup>

---

<sup>187</sup> "A lie...of lies" has been added at an angle at the  
right side of the page. It seems to be descriptive of the  
previous passage.

me--& to love Him in return & be wholly His.

"I can be calm & free from      like Jesus in being  
care "On every shore if      abused<sup>188</sup>  
God is there"

f117

July 1/93

??

Joseph & his brethren--O how unlike Joseph I have been.  
Let me atone. O God too late.  
Can I atone by being gentle & kind & forgiving to all  
these?

Let not my weak, unknowing hand  
Pressure Thy bolts to throw  
Or deal damnation round the land  
On each I judge Thy foe.

Mother Shore Charlie P[rince]ss of Wales

make good it is ? possible O God

Father forgive them, for  
" " me, for

holy--consecrated to divine uses--study each character

f118 [blank]

f118v

2

O God. Not what I am O Lord but what Thou art  
-----Shore--O form his life for him  
--The R[oyal] Charter for Nurses--O let us *improve*  
*thro[ugh] our Training-Schools--improve our Registers.*

Do Thou do it. May I be Thy handmaid?  
--Pss Xtian--Pss of Wales. Restore, O Lord--make good,  
if it be possible, my unforgive-able [sic] failures--  
let this be Thy forgiveness of me.

Father, Father  
? Bowler. O pray for her, for me, that we may please

---

<sup>188</sup>"lies...[?]" is another addition, crowded into the  
bottom right-hand corner.

thy holy spirit. Right judgment. Comfort. If only we  
seek to please Thee

f119

Life grows more precious as one grows older & tries  
to do what one can--& looks forward into eternity to be  
*still used by Him who gives us our work--& hopes to do  
it better*

I trust you find satisfaction as you ought in your most  
glorious work knowing that it is *His*.

F.N.

19/7/93

I am only just getting a little strength after a 6  
month's illness. Else I should have written sooner.

f120

Da quod jubes & jube quod vis.  
Give common sense to B[owler?]. Give temper to all of  
us.

When Thou takedst upon Thyself to deliver Man, Thou  
didst not abhor the V[irgin]'s W[omb] [footnote in MS  
reads: Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all  
believers. "Thy kingdom" *is* the "kingdom of heaven".  
And we can have it here. It is *within*]

O God, the meekness & gentleness & purity of Christ.  
God, give me this, give me Thy holy Spirit, with all  
that that means. love, joy, long suffering

August 28-29/93

f121 [blank]

f121v

. 2

O God of mercy

prayer  
dust

What should I do or whither flee

If Thou wert not my *trust*?

And how can the little household *trust me*?

how can I be *their* trust?

Lord, I am nothing to them--I can do nothing with them.

How can I make "Thy kingdom" in this house?

But *Thou canst*.

Thy kingdom come. Let it come.

f122

Embley Sept 16-17/93

I to servants  
Expiation  
servants to I

---

Expiation  
not punishment

L. They can't take orders  
fish

The two Expiations for one self--  
the innocent for the guilty--

the prisons  
the Convent  
Les Misérables

the two saved him  
love for/from Coselto  
humility from the Bishop

his heart overflowed with gratitude

---

he had not led this new life<sup>189</sup> to establish his  
character but for God

Da quod jubes et jube quod vis

f123 [blank]

f123v

2

He shall open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.  
Lord I believe: help Thou my unbelief

f124

Oct. 18-19/93 S[outh] St

Father, give me Thy Spirit--the Spirit of God,  
what a boon  
the Spirit of Love  
the Spirit of Joy--of our connexion with God<sup>190</sup> the  
Love of God not the wrath of God  
the Spirit of Peace--the peace of God which passeth all  
understanding--the peace of Christ, ie. of knowing His  
own relation with the lovingness, long-suffering of a

---

<sup>189</sup> "forgiveness" is superscripted above "to".

<sup>190</sup> "God" is entered by a caret.

of having a will to do for God & no will but His.

f125 [blank]

f125v

2

Of course if we have no other work but God's  
& no other will but God's  
we *shall* have peace

the Spirit of long-suffering--God has been so long-  
suffering with me--cannot I be long-suffering with my  
fellows? but to be long-suffering one must be one with  
God.

*Cheerfully* accomplish those things Thou wouldst have  
done

Father, nothing is hard to Thee--give me the Spirit of  
Love & a little meat with it

the Spirit of Gentleness

O God, I am left alone with Epigrams--be thou with  
me.<sup>hh</sup>

f126

[Oc]t 29-30/93

Strong in the strength that God supplies  
Through the Eternal Son

What is that strength?

1. our relationship with the Father
2. doing a work *for Him*--His help &  
superintend[ence]
3. having no will but His.

? fire to come in & the fire to come out of us killing  
myself, them & Him  
Lord Save us We perish

f127

Nov 3-4/93      Our arrival at Scutari 39 years ago.  
Borden's departure

--I have never acted as thy servant.  
--Yet the immense blessings I have had--the  
longings of my heart accomplished  
And now not forgotten but drawn to Thee by difficulty &  
disappointment.

That the spirit of Christ might rest upon me

f128 blank]

f128v

2

O Lord, I shall make such an awkward old servant. Wilt  
Thou "stoop" to train me, to teach me to be Thy  
servant?

prayer for B.

Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do? [Acts 9:6]

f129

Nov 15-16/93

Vorty?

"open the *"kingdom of heaven"* to all believers"

But do we wish for the "kingdom of heaven"?  
to be "poor in spirit"? what *is* the "kingdom of  
heaven"?

to be

to be as "little children?"

It is truly a "new birth"

"I will have mercy upon whom I will have mercy."

[Romans 9:15, a passage quoting the Old Testament]

but not upon me Lord?

Let the unrighteous man forsake his *thoughts* & turn  
unto the Lord--& He will abundantly pardon.

How am I to forsake my thoughts? Lord--It is like  
living & ceasing to live at once

f130 [blank]

f130v

Nov 15-16/93

2

going to Claydon?

O so many things?

Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do? [Acts 9:6]

What wilt Thou have me to do?

And do I open the kingdom of heaven to those  
dependent upon me by being with me?

Nov 25/93

Making capital out of his death!! General Committee  
God without God

---

*one with Christ & with His members--Communion*

O when, Lord? We are as distant as the poles  
asunder?

f131

Nov 29-30/93

he should open the kingdom of heaven to all believers  
what is the kingdom of heaven--the poor in spirit the  
persecuted for righteousness sake  
then heaven is not the place we suppose--it is this.  
And the abode of the Blessed? Who are the Blessed?  
Matt v<sup>191</sup>

I am Thy servant. This is Thy work. Lord, what wilt  
Thou have me to do? Teach me how to do it.

Now, O Lord, now.

I found myself on the ground

I had killed myself & God in me. He no longer  
dwelleth in me

f132 [blank]

f132v

Mr. Jowett

2

He was good & his own goodness made him see God--the  
goodness of God

I am not good--& I require to find out what we can of  
the moral gov[ernmen]t of God--to see Him to be good &  
it to be moral

f133

---

<sup>191</sup> Refers to Sermon on the Mount.

A Department & not a man or woman  
Mr. Jowett was not a Dept. but a man  
Am I a Dept.?

fit to appear before God--pure of heart

works of darkness--the killing of God within one--the  
worst of all murders--& no one knows of it

f134

April 26-27/94	Marshall going	Brownis's death
		Bessie's
Confirmation		Mr. Gardiner

And yet I am not alone, for the Father is with me the  
Father of an Infinite Majesty[,] Charity, Love  
Therefore I pray that He may pour into our hearts that  
most excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace  
(of love, joy, long-suffering) & of all virtues

Mr. Gardiner--moral government of God bringing good out  
of evil bringing virtues to which evil is essential

O Father, turn this to good in all our hearts

2  
Lady M. Forester's (death)<sup>193</sup>  
Kaiserswerth

Be joyful in the Lord, my heart.  
How much *He* has brought out quite unexpected since  
that time, which then seemed impossible

===

Do Thou, then, *put such thoughts into my mind every*  
*hour* such words into my mouth

To make the final decision between (Christ) *God & self*  
*with Prayer*

April 27/94

---

<sup>192</sup> "[3 Dec 1893]" is in a different hand.

<sup>193</sup> Lady Maria Forester, after reading Wm. H. Russell's  
report in the *Times*, had written to Nightingale, offering to  
help pay to send nurses out to the Crimea.



April 27-28/94

To make the decision whether God's or self's

Ye are bought with a price--ye are not your own--O  
how happy to be God's.

Help of the helpless [Lyte (1847)] --And what help?  
The Father of an Infinite Majesty--Charity

Father, if it be possible--let this cup pass from me  
nevertheless, not as I will but as Thou wilt [Matthew  
14:36]

f136 [blank]

f136v

2

thorn in the flesh

the messenger of Satan to buffet me

I prayed 3 times that it might be taken away

Answer: My grace is sufficient for you--My strength is  
made perfect in your weakness.

[2 Cor 12:7-10]

All things with prayer

To pray for F.

Whit Sunday April 13

Mrs. M. April 9

f137

to Shore

April 20/94

the kingdom of heaven within--not the result of  
success & ease but of suffering & sin see Beatitudes

He seems to have been almost the first to bring this  
thought to the Western world--that *this is the moral*  
*gov[ernmen]t of God*--which we do so misapprehend. But  
in the Eastern, Buddhism which has something of the  
same resulted only in submission--in the Western, work  
was the outcome.

Christ & St. Paul the (f137v)

2

greatest workers the world has seen dwell so little  
upon work, do much upon the spirit with which work is  
to be done

St. Paul--work for 30 years finest altes? panegyric  
of spirit of love, 1 Cor XIII

This has been done by persons incapable of all  
ordinary work--& not been done by persons who worked

f138 [blank]

f138v

3

What was vacillation in his manhood--in his last 2 years one wondered how he did so much.

f139

May 10-11/94

dreams about not being ready to go (start to relish  
signal for not being ready to go (death  
What is it to be ready for death?  
to be Christ-like--to love, to forgive like Him--to  
feel no resentments  
to thirst for this above all things  
to be holy--doing everything for God

f140

New Year's Day 1895 4 a.m.

Personal union with Jesus Christ  
without this we are nothing  
Father, give me this personal union. There is no room.  
Come in, Lord Jesus, come into my heart now & each  
day more & more of this New Year. 1895  
And may it be a better & a happier year than any  
before.  
So help us God!

f141

Claydon Jan 27-28/95  
Sacramento

To believe in Christ as our friend: that is Faith  
To act for Christ as *His* friends: that is Practice

f142

Claydon. Feb 26-27/95 Ash Wednesday (4 mo  
P[rince]ss [Christia]n  
Sir H.A.  
Lady V[erney] .

God the only person in the world--no self-assertion. I  
am nothing--all blunders & failures & sins

such different men saw each feeling that there was  
none but God in the room  
Practically, there is nothing but God: what wilt Thou  
have me to do? go or stay? do or not do? [Acts 9:6]  
S. Francis d'Assisi--love--humility--Mr. Jowett

1873

Derwent--God, do Thy will in me, by me, with or without  
me.

That is the only thing

2

Lord, save us, we perish

We are without a guide<sup>194</sup>

I give it all into the hands of God

f143

Feb 28/95

Christ the only person in the world

Greater His love than death or hell

(The love of Christ to me)

God the only person in the Universe

When shall I find my better part

All taken up with Thee?

What madness, then, all this self-assertion?

Lord, save us, we perish

2

There is but one person in the world. And that is--  
Christ

There is but one person in the world. And that is--the  
Devil

There is but one person in the world. And that is--me

"The first condition of working for a few years longer  
is absolute calmness--the great effort must be a  
quieter one, more free from anxiety & personality. As  
we get older, we ought to know ourselves & to know the  
world better: & to direct the flow better & to be  
indifferent about the result, knowing

T[urn] O[ver]

(f143v)

*"that no single thing is of so much importance as*

---

<sup>194</sup> This line originally read "We are without guides"; an  
"a" was superscripted before "guides" and the "s" overscored.

...of life is to live a life on a higher plane of  
life.

f144

March 6/95

I shall stand next  
Before God's throne: the moment's close at hand when  
man, the first, last time, has leave to lay His whole  
heart bare before its maker, leave To clear up the long  
error of a life And choose one happiness for evermore

Whose service is perfect freedom

f145

Kindness Good Word  
March 21-22/95 The First Day of Spring

Hallowed be Thy name--not mine  
Thy kingdom come--not mine  
Thy will be done--not mine  
on earth as it is in heaven--that is, that portion  
of Thy will which is given to me for myself  
Give me this day my daily bread  
Soldier of Christ--by meekness & love & long suffering  
& gentleness & watchfulness  
Sir Harry: by His gentleness & courtesy he kept  
command of his room & himself to the last<sup>195</sup>

f146

Easter Day April 14/95 God first look up to Him first  
before looking at yourself  
O Father of an Infinite Majesty  
Thy name, Thy day, not mine, be hallowed  
Thy kingdom come, not mine. O God have mercy upon  
Thy whole Church--& upon this little household  
Thy will be done, not mine, on earth as it is in  
heaven. O God, what is Thy will for me?  
Give me actively to do it (all these papers)  
Lord, what will Thou have me to do?  
gentleness & meekness? "mistress of myself & my  
room."  
Now for me--for us: "Give us

f147 [blank]

f147v

---

<sup>195</sup> For reference to the Lord's Prayer see Matthew 6:9 ff.

NOW for me: for us--

1. Give us this day our daily bread--
2. And forgive us our trespasses, our debts to Thee--  
as we
3. And lead us not into temptation--nor let us lead  
others
4. But deliver us from evil. F.L.B.8.

Let us

f148

Easter Day April 14-15/95

Seeley's Natural Religion almost the most interesting book I ever read--but surely the winding up the making Civilization a Religion is a chimera, is feeble. What is there to be tied to, to worship? It wants the "one thing needful"--the God & Father of all who is by fixed laws of moral government bringing everyone to perfection, to civilization if you choose to call it so.<sup>196</sup>

f149 [blank]

f149v

Mr. Jowett

That was the peculiar strength of the man that he would call & feel "life" "a splendid gift" even while he was 'eating his heart' & found it often a rather bitter & scanty meal [[see Louis]]

f150

Oct 14/95

God is light & in Him is no darkness at all  
If we walk in the light. Sermon

This is new to every one of us--not old.

We think of God--not as light but as darkness  
If we are going on, with some little secret sin,  
pretending to be good, that is not walking in God's  
light, it is walking in darkness.

---

<sup>196</sup> Sir John Robert Seeley (1834-1895). The book Nightingale is referring to, *Natural Religion* (London: MacMillan, 1882), was based on papers contributed to MacMillan's Magazine, 1875-1878.

with God is thinking of him--looking to him--[[he is  
with us--but we are not with Him for the most part]] if  
we walk thr[o]u[gh] wickedness looking up[.] God is  
truth, holiness & love truth holiness love we shall  
find sin & Satan vanish away.

f151 [blank]

f151v

2

fellowship

To walk with Him is to walk in truth, holiness & love--  
these three are one, & we cannot have one without the  
others. God is truth, holiness & love.  
We think too much of the wickedness of the world, too  
much about Satan & too little about God--We should  
think of God as He put down wickedness (put down Satan)  
& as He would put down Satan now, if we each of us  
walked in His light

f152

Nov 19/95

Have we two<sup>197</sup> asked for the "living water"  
the Spirit of God fresh every day not stagnant  
do we two<sup>198</sup> "know" Christ enough to ask for it?  
"Unless a man be born again he cannot enter the kingdom  
of God" [John 3:3]

It is obvious we can't make ourselves a second birth.  
have we asked to be "born again" so that we can enter  
the kingdom of heaven here

f153 [blank]

f153v

2

Nov 20

Pour into us such love of Thee that we, loving Thee  
above all, may, above all, do all things, to Thy honour  
& glory, as did Jesus Christ our Lord.

---

<sup>197</sup> "two" is entered by a caret.

<sup>198</sup> "two" is circled and entered by a caret.

Our Father, which art in Heaven;- make us Thy loving children, make us long to be with Thee as daughters with a loving father. Thou art Love, and she that dwelleth in Love, dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in her. Let us choose this day whom we will serve, whether Thee or the "Father of lies"--whom we will please, whether Thee or ourselves. Let us not put self in Thy place.

Hallowed be Thy Name. Let us not profane it by praying without really thinking of Thee, or wishing for what we ask for, or with-out looking for the answer, whether in our daily prayers or at Church.

Thy Kingdom come. Help us to try to bring about Thy Kingdom. Reign within our hearts because Thou sayest: The Kingdom of God is within, but let us try to make it without also. Let us always try to be about our Father's business.

f155

2

Thy Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven. Lord, we would have no Will but Thine, and we would try actively to do Thy Will, and be about our Father's business, always, even in all the trifling things of our daily work, for nothing is trifling with Thee; as Thy Son when at Nazareth was still about His Father's business.

Give us this day our daily bread. Feed our souls, oh Lord, as well as our bodies, and whether we eat or drink or whatsoever we do, let us do all to Thy Glory.

Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. Teach us to love those whom we dislike, or who do us an injury, and let us remember that if we do not, if we bear malice, we are actually asking Thee not to forgive us our trespasses.

f156

3

Lead us not into temptation. Let us do battle against our besetting Sin which most often tempts us, remembering the Roman Soldier whose faithfulness St. Paul tells us to imitate, and remembering the Great

of things which give us wrong ideas. Let us not be seeking our own credit- a temptation which sometimes pursues us even in doing good things, and speaking good words, or at Church.

But deliver us from Evil. Deliver us from unconscientious work, doing things unto man and not unto God. Let us turn murmuring into prayer. Deliver us from wrong thoughts, wrong words, wrong actions; above all from that hardness of heart, and indifference which Thou dost call Death: and give us the Eternal Life which our Lord tells us must begin here and now, if we are to have it there.

Amen.

f157

Our Father, which art in Heaven:- make us Thy loving children, make us long to be with Thee as daughters with a loving father. Thou art Love, and she that dwelleth in Love, dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in her. Let us choose this day whom we will serve, whether Thee or the "Father of lies"--whom we will please, whether Thee or ourselves. Let us not put self in Thy place.

Hallowed be Thy Name. Let us not profane it by praying without really thinking of Thee, or wishing for what we ask for, or with-out looking for the answer, whether in our daily prayers or at Church.

Thy Kingdom come. Help us to try to bring about Thy Kingdom. Reign within our hearts because Thou sayest: The Kingdom of God is within, but let us try to make it without also. Let us always be about our Father's business.

f158

2 .

Thy Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven. Lord, we would have no Will but Thine, and we would try actively to do Thy Will, and be about our Father's business, always, even in all the trifling things of our daily work, for nothing is trifling with Thee; as Thy Son when at Nazareth was still about His Father's business.

Give us this day our daily bread. Feed our souls, oh Lord, as well as our bodies, and whether we eat or



Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. Teach us to love those whom we dislike, or who do us an injury, and let us remember that if we do not, if we bear malice, we are actually asking Thee not to forgive us our trespasses.

f159

3

Lead us not into temptation. Let us do battle against our besetting Sin which most often tempts us, remembering the Roman Soldier whose faithfulness St. Paul tells us to imitate, and remembering the Great Captain of our Salvation. Let us not run into places or things which give us wrong ideas. Let us not be seeking our own credit- a temptation which sometimes pursues us even in doing good things and speaking good words, or at Church.

But deliver us from Evil. Deliver us from unconscientious work, doing things unto man and not unto God. Let us turn murmuring into prayer. Deliver us from wrong thoughts, wrong words, wrong actions; above all from that hardness of heart, and indifference which Thou dost call Death: and give us the Eternal Life which our Lord tells us must begin here and now, if we are to have it there.

Amen.<sup>199</sup>

f160

April 23-24/96

Stanmore  
letters

F

O Lord, make me wish for nothing but that Thy will should be done--by me, by all in this house--  
O Lord my God, do Thou Thy holy Will  
teach me what it is, teach me not only to know but to do it & how it is to be done--  
teach us all--

---

<sup>199</sup> This expansion of the Lord's Prayer is a fine example of Nightingale's skill in exegesis. (Ff.154 to 159 are typed rather than handwritten.) The manuscript contains the duplicate as it is reproduced here, all folios being numbered.

box of letters in the cellar?

f161

3

And had I not had that break in 1874 & before, perhaps  
God would never have given me the 20 years since  
impression  
not reflection

My meat is to do--is it?--the will of God that sent me  
to finish His work.  
And without this food, no faith, no prayer is of any  
use

4

Come in, Lord Jesus, come into my  
heart now, with Thy sweetness  
(gentleness)  
modesty  
humility  
shame facedness  
(refinement)

But do I wish for these things?

---

Have we (I) asked to be born again?  
" " " " for the living waters? (f161v)

2

O Lord my God, teach me what Thy holy Will is for me  
for each hour, each work, each thought

enthusiastic love for God for what He has done for me--  
especially since 1874--father to me Thou art & mother  
too & sister dear.

f162

Impression  
Aug 12/96  
Return from Crimea  
Jason Che mi resta?  
Medea Io<sup>200</sup>

---

<sup>200</sup> Jason, Medea and Io are three figures from Greek  
mythology. Medea, daughter of the Colchian king, loved Jason,  
hero of the quest for the Golden Fleece. Io was an earlier

1858

I wrote to Dr.Suth[erlan]d & Col[onel] Lefroy<sup>201</sup> that  
'Io' did not remain to me  
But God did and I have had 40 years of it  
[[And see today is 43 years since I went to Harley St]]  
1853  
Now Io does really not remain to me  
But God does  
He can still work & will

25th-26th

In 3 years Aug 53 to Aug 56 all was done.  
Purveyor's Dept Sub ?  
A.M.D.<sup>202</sup> Ref " " "  
Statistical " " "  
Farr<sup>203</sup>  
Visit to the Queen 1856

f163

---

figure, a maiden loved by Zeus and changed to a heifer by Hera. She was comforted by Prometheus and eventually changed back to human form by Zeus. The Ionian Sea and the Bosphorus (meaning Ford of the Cow) are named after Io. (*Mythology*, Edith Hamilton [Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942] pp.95-99, 168).

<sup>201</sup> Sent by Lord Panmure to the Crimea in October 1855, under the title of *Confidential Adviser to the Secretary of War on Scientific Matters*, Colonel Lefroy's mission was essentially to spy on Nightingale and report on her activities. He soon became one of her staunchest supporters (Woodham-Smith, 176).

<sup>202</sup> Army Medical Department.

<sup>203</sup> Dr. William Farr, a medical statistician who worked with Nightingale on compiling statistics on military mortality rates compared with those of civilians. Farr served on the Royal Sanitary Commission, supported Nightingale in hospital reform, and helped her in writing "*Suggestions in regard to Sanitary Works required for the Improvement of Indian Stations*", a report that disappeared into the files at the India Office (Vicinus and Nergaard, 172, 251).

Dogma: not only is it not possible to have unity in dogma--but it is no use--dogma is not religion--on the contrary if dogma is to be the subject of faith & not of reason, the more you reason about it, the less religious you have made it. You have only strengthened intolerance

You have not made any one more unselfish<sup>205</sup> (f164) or given more love. Christ's doctrine was Do unto others as you would be done by--that makes people more unselfish. He ridiculed Ceremonies even Sabbath keeping put aside--& neglected all Dogmas--

Are we following Christ? or are we following the Scribes & Pharisees?

Scribes & Pharisees

f165

All Saints Day  
All Souls Day

Nov 2/96

Yes: one does feel the passing away of so many who seemed essential to the world  
I have no one now to whom I could speak of those who are gone

But all the more I am eager to see Successors--what is that verse? that the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons (& daughters) of (f166 [blank], f166v)

2

God--& that the whole earth groaneth & travaileth until now

And I am thankful for the many noble souls I have known

f167

Nov 7 & 8/96

Age 76

---

<sup>204</sup> Sir William Wedderburn (1838-1918) was an MP who supported labour reform and Home Rule. He worked extensively in India, entering the Bombay Civil Service in 1860 and serving as a judge at Poona. In 1885 he served as acting Judge of the High Court of Bombay. He retired from active life in 1887 (Who's Who of British Memnbers of Parliament Vol. I).

<sup>205</sup> "less selfish" is superscripted above "more unselfish".

not to speak or think of others' faults but to speak to  
God

God is not my private Secretary  
must be born again [footnote reads: now to be Thine &  
Thine alone]

76 years of self

Lord, speak to me that I may speak

f168

Dec 6/96

3 m

God asks me Have you been a "Propaganda of the Gospel"  
in your own little household? By "love & humility?"

Lord, what *am* I to do? --meals. Take no thought of the  
morrow what you are to eat or drink or wherewithal you  
shall be clothed. For *your heavenly Father* knoweth *ye*  
*have need* of these things  
The morrow shall take thought of the things for itself.

[Matthew 6:25, 31-32, 34]

f169

3

meals. "My meat is to do the will of God & to finish  
His work"

O God make me to "aim", to "end", to "centre" all I do  
in Thee.

Then let Thy "quickenings" "spirit" o'er us reign  
let me be "born again" in this  
let me "know" Christ so as to ask for "living waters"

f169v

God asks

2

Do you *know* God?

in knowledge of whom standeth eternal life

No

Then how can He *know* you?

everlasting hell-- [cf. Luke 13:27-28]  
Heaven is not a place or a time--in "knowledge" of  
God it consists  
Nor is hell--it consists in not "*knowing* God".

f170

Xmas Day/96

*Christ has arrived*

What will be His first word to me<sup>206</sup>?  
Lovest thou Me?  
And what will be my answer?  
Lord, I love Thee: help Thou my want of love--

Would you offer less than a perfect nursing, cooking,  
work with a perfect love to God?

T[urn] O[ver] (f170v)

Not what we do but what we are.

T[urn] O[ver]

f171

Not what we do but what we are.

f171v

Xmas Day  
row

2

O Christ

*Take Thou (me)<sup>207</sup> in charge this day*

Instead of my work "beginning, continuing "& ending in  
Thee", it has been to get it off 'my mind'. I have put  
self in God's place.

O God, forgive. O let me feel "the love of Christ to  
me" by His work in my heart.

f172

Xmas Day/96

Glory to God in the highest, peace & good will. But it

---

<sup>206</sup> "us" is superscripted above "me"; both are intact.

<sup>207</sup> The word "us" appears twice, superscripted above  
"Thou" and "(me)".

do not make peace

"The worst wars have been in the name of Religion. The bitterest quarrels between Catholics & Protestants. Christianity has not made peace but a "sword"

f173

Feb 17/97  
impression

& simply fall upon the Almighty arms  
Almighty Father make all things right  
Put out myself & put in Thyself  
Thy strength is made perfect in my weakness  
Therefore I take pleasure in my *infirmities* that the  
power of Christ may rest upon me born again every  
morning  
O Jesus, how patiently to knock  
I open wide the gate

f174

Shrove Tuesday Ash Wednesday

March 3/97

Am I shrived? It is no use being shrived if we do not  
make a firm determination to lead an entirely new life--  
to truly & earnestly repent us of our sins, to be in  
love & charity with all our neighbours, & to lead a new  
life, following the commandments of God, & walking  
henceforth in His most holy ways--that is what Christ  
called, to be *born again*

*da quod jubes et jube quod vis*  
Lord what wilt Thou have me to do? [Acts 9:6] in each  
thing  
Launch your bark, Mariner  
Straight for the Beacon Steer

f175 [blank]

f175v

2

to apply to God (& not to tell stories to our fellow  
men) in all our undertakings--begun, continued & ended  
in Him  
to apply to God & not only to "get it off one's mind"  
"I trust in God to make a way out for both of us  
through this trial"

to nurse the Plague     Gen[era]l Newmarch

f176

March 11-12/97

O God to be born again--every morning  
To speak to Thee instead of to men in thought

I am of unclean lips  
Touch my lips with a live coal from the altar  
[Isaiah 6:5]

I am here: send me.

To speak to-day  
What shall I say?

f177

March 20-21/97

For God is good--And goodness still Delighteth to  
forgive  
O His goodness to me thro' all these years of Viceroys.  
& how I have neglected Him  
And He has forgiven

Am I "good" to "forgive"?

f178

April 10/48

April 10-11/97

Chartist Meeting--D[uke] of Wellington<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> The organizers of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 wished to include a nursing display, containing items from the Crimean conflict. Nightingale initially wanted only Sidney Herbert's contribution to the Royal Commission to appear but, at Lady Wantage's personal appeal, she agreed to lend the bust of herself, done by Steell of Edinburgh to the exhibit (Vicinus and Nergaard, 436-7).

<sup>209</sup> The ordinary soldiers, those whom Nightingale called her children in the Crimea, had been described by the Duke of Wellington as "the scum of the earth, enlisted for drink" (Woodham-Smith, 106), so it seems appropriate that his name should be juxtaposed beside mention of the Chartist, "a political mass movement attempting by constitutional means to



and what have been the immense benefits of God to me  
these 49 years--& are still--benefits unprecedented--  
unique impression but grown too hard in old age to  
receive it

O God--Let me be born again--Not what I am, O Lord,  
but what Thou art

f179

May 22-3/97

I want God: who is God? the God of forgiveness, of  
Wisdom & Love--our Father.  
the blessings--the fruits of the Spirit--are all not  
blessings to work--not to success in good work but are  
the inward state of the heart & soul within

Such is the God who answers our cry--Tho[ugh] He does  
in His infinite goodness give me work for Him--this is  
our Father whom we have to be like--to serve  
in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life.

2

Act, act in the Living Present  
Christ within & God o'erhead

May 24/97

In these terrible circumstances, I believe "Nothing  
pleases Him so much as our putting our whole<sup>210</sup> trust  
in Him". Mrs. Holmes I Pray that He will help me to  
trust Him

E'en the hour that darkest seemeth  
Shall His changeless goodness prove

---

change the political framework" (J.A.S. Grenville *Europe  
Reshaped 1848-1878* [London: Fontana Press, 1976], 27).

The Chartists, founded in 1836 by William Lovett, reached  
their heyday in 1839 during a time of economic repression by  
the government. They were a political and economic movement  
made up of the artisan and labouring classes, which was acting  
to force an overhaul of the electorate and parliamentary  
systems through petition. Their final meeting was held on 10  
April 1848, but by then the movement had become more violent  
and revolutionary and therefore had less support. After 1848  
it fizzled out.

<sup>210</sup> A caret is inserted between "whole" and "trust",  
indicating the insertion of the words "We cannot please God  
better than to".

f180

June 2/97

Hast Thou not a blessing for me too, O my Father?

O Lord my God, do Thou Thy holy Will  
And teach<sup>211</sup> me Thy Will and how to do it

f181

June 11-12/97 end of Whitsun week Friday May 21/97

You must have that *"most excellent gift of charity"*  
before you can have a *"right judgment in all things"*  
You must be able to pray for every one instead of  
criticizing & talking over before you can 'judge  
rightly'.

You must be 'born again'.

"And that sweet thought that I am Thine" must be  
that " " " she is Thine".

before you can know what to do for her in this terrible  
dilemma

In the near future of death, you must not think of  
reproach for the cruel past--it will all be transmuted  
into the early love.

f182

June 19/97

O my God, draw me up, I pray Thee, to serve & please  
Thee in newness of life. O raise us up, we beseech  
Thee, O our God, & Father, to serve & please Thee in  
newness of life

There is no one to take care of us but God.

f183

Sept. 18-19/97 impression night & morning

loving God & living for Him  
what has He done for me?  
"O if I might! O if I might!" [[Lea Hurst]]

---

<sup>211</sup> "Show" is superscripted above "teach"; both are  
intact.

firm ground

Life is--loving God & living for Him & our fellow-creatures in Him.

Sept. 20--Anniversary 1854

Battle of the Alma--& how much has come of it. Thank Thee, God.

f184

Sept 20 (Alma [footnote in MS reads: O lord, pour into our hearts such love towards Thee that we, loving Thee above all things may above all things seek Thy honour & glory]) -21/97 impression

Lord, I my vows [footnote in MS reads: loving God & living for Him--that is for fellow-creatures] to Thee renew

[[Invisible Environment]]

The kingdom of heaven is not within me.

And our fellow creatures [footnote in MS reads: to pray for them that despitefully use us & persecute] & to walk straight].

This is "the kingdom"

Father forgive them

f185 [blank]

f185v

2

Let the Hindoo, the Buddhist, the Christian each live in his God's sight, doing His work rightly

f186

Sept 25-26/97

Oh could we but relinquish all  
Our earthly props & simply fall  
On Thy Almighty arms.

---

Old age is coming on & I am alone  
And yet I am not alone, for the Father is with me--with me in the spirit of wisdom & understanding ("Invisible

spirit of knowledge & of the fear of God--or quick  
understanding in the fear of God--and thou shalt not  
judge from the seeing of the eye nor reprove from the  
hearing of the ear" of "love, joy, peace, long-  
suffering, gentleness, goodness" &c

f187

Sept 29-30/97

great thunderstorm

L. & Bab

Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?

[Acts 9:6]

Memory & eyes fail

O God, we are all wrong and Thou art all right.  
O God who art the author of peace & lover of concord,  
in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose  
service is perfect freedom.

"But let Thy quickening spirit o'er us reign  
How light the labour then, the soul how free  
O yield us then that glorious Liberty."

f188

Oct 2-3/97

no papers could be found

Everything is lost but God--God [footnote in MS reads:  
What God is found? an angry God? or He Who received the  
Prodigal Son? Am I a penitent Prodigal daughter? Will  
He make me one?] is found.

And wilt Thou accept me, who have never accepted Thee?  
The kingdom of heaven is within: And you could not  
make it without, unless it is "within".

f189

Oct. 16/97

Christ came not to be ministered unto but to minister  
[[And He prayed]]

f190

Oct. 31/97

how then do I dare not to care?<sup>212</sup>  
He careth for me: He careth for her too

---

<sup>212</sup> "how...care?" is superscripted above "careth".

f191

Nov. 3/97

strong impression

Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God  
[Matthew 5:8]  
the pure in heart are those who only wish for God's  
will--for the right, for the good whether it is for a  
new servant or for an old one who has left them--for  
those who have despitefully used them--or for friends  
O God make me pure in heart, for I cannot make myself

f192

Nov 13/97

What can the "crown" of "life" [Rev 2:10] be? It  
cannot be rest--from life. For "life" is active  
lovingness & energetic love. To crown life must be to  
give a greater power of life & love & action.  
And so must it be with Mr. Jowett.

f193 [blank]

f193v

2

To cure disease--not to restore or maintain health is  
our Physicians' career.

f194

Oct 19/98

10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

Most prayers are only affectation--You ask for what you  
don't want & don't think you shall get.

Or they are only prayers out of a book.

Do you ask for Communion with God? [footnote in MS  
reads:

Perfect Wisdom & Perfect Love]  
"And simply fall On His almighty arms"

My God, [footnote in MS reads: God = Perfect Wisdom &  
Prefect Love] I love Thee with all my heart

Child of the dust, I heard thee moan  
Will God forsake & not return?

The Earl of Crewe  
23. Hill St.<sup>11</sup>

April 16--a.m.

O Jesu I have promised  
To serve Thee to the end<sup>214</sup>  
And I have not yet begun  
My Saviour & my friend  
God "in Christ" is our Father  
Not God in Gravitation  
Till I love God as He loves me  
I shall not have Him in me to do my things (f195v)  
Come in, Lord Jesus, come in now.  
What wilt thou that I should do unto thee? [Matthew  
20:32]  
Lord to do Thy holy will  
to teach me what it is & how to do it.  
What wilt Thou have me to do? [Acts 9:6]  
I give Thee my thoughts  
I do not give Thee my heart, my love.

Yet who has received from Thee more than I have? my  
life, my work--But I have not made it Thy work.  
Thy Holy Spirit is counsel & understanding

C'est ce que voudra le guide interieur de mon ame si je  
l'écoute

f196

June/99

. 10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

What is the language supposed to be spoken at the "Last  
Judgment"?  
Is it a language with grammar according to the orthodox

---

<sup>213</sup> Date written in a different hand.

<sup>214</sup> This note is an expansion by Nghtingale of a hymn by  
J.E. Bode (1868). See Frost, 1962.

Or is it an impression stronger than any spoken words?

What is the language or languages spoken in heaven?

f197

London July 4/99

Thou hast given this day in trust to me.  
I give this day in trust to Thee

Ye that do truly & earnestly repent you of your sins &  
are in love & charity with your neighbour & intend to  
lead a new life following the commandments of God (end  
of Matthew V) & walking from henceforth in His holy  
ways

Draw near<sup>215</sup>

f198

July/99

10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

To ask for "a right judgment "in all things" without  
this we have to blunder on & find things out for  
ourselves'

"God's house"--Is this God's house? is this room God's  
house?

f199

July/99

10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

the *Sympathy* of God (suffering with us (me) can He!  
sympathise with me!? And I! can't sympathise with  
others!?

f200

Ready--ready to do everything, ready to do nothing,  
according as it is Thy will--ready to die, ready to  
live  
O Lord my God, do Thou Thy holy will--the will of

---

<sup>215</sup>"Ye that do truly. . .Draw near" is from the Communion  
Service in the Book of Common Prayer.

restful in solitude with God  
Henri Perseymore            perdre saurait  
Mère Ste Colombi--Sacré Coeur  
(Rimini/ (Je vous pardonne) perdre  
Sept./99 Morning 8 a.m. (f200v)

prayer not asking    Is this death?<sup>211</sup>

do Thou Thy holy Will,  
I will be still--I will not stir lest I forsake Thy arm  
or break the charm [w]hich lulls me clinging to [m]y  
Father's breast in perfect rest

How splendid those yellow flowers. We can't make  
yellow stuff, yellow gowns. God, I have loved her (me  
this is the change--this is death

--death, where is thy sting, when I thank the Lord who  
has given us the victory thro[ugh] our Lord Jesus  
Christ

f201

[late 1890s]<sup>216</sup>  
Secretary's post: Mrs. Norris at the end of this  
winter.

10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

Rabbi Ben Ezra  
Reasoning

Grow old along with me  
The best is yet to be  
The last of life--for which the first was made  
Then welcome each rebuff  
That turns earth's smoothness rough  
Each sting that bids not stand nor sit but go  
Become for 3 parts pain  
Strive & hold fast the pain<sup>217</sup>

---

<sup>216</sup> Date written in a different hand. This note was  
likely written between September 1899 and February 1900.

<sup>217</sup> From a poem by Robert Browning (1812-1899). The first  
three lines are from v.1 l.1-3; the next three are from v.6  
l.1-3; the final two lines have been modified from v.6 l.4-5.  
The original reads: Be our joys three-parts pain!



Carving by Monteagh's sister  
Monteagh  
Fagnes

Miss Pringle at 9p.m. ? dinner  
24 Willow Road  
Bexhill<sup>kk</sup>

till Monday

St. Lucifer  
purity pride<sup>218</sup>

f203

Should you like to be God? I shouldn't. Why, because there is so little permanent improvement. We are sober, chaste & giving our lives for one another, just while the fighting is going on--but no, improvement is lasting. It is a losing battle.<sup>219</sup> Yet war is a terrible thing, to make us good if that alone will do it.

In all those planets & fixed stars which I suppose are God's kingdom, is there (f204) the same losing battle going on?

It is hard to say that we are better than the ancient Romans than the men & women in *Homer* & *Virgil*-- is it not? Are the men & women in *Shakespeare* & *Milton* better than those? than those in *Homer* & *Virgil*? Voltaire says: 'Il (Milton) semble chanter Pour les fous, pour les anges & pour les diables.'<sup>220</sup>

There is some truth in that. At all events, Tennyson does not "sing" for "the mad, the angels & devils."

But does he try to make us somewhat more like the angels?

Does Browning? Yes, more than Tennyson. At least in his *Paracelsas*.

---

Strive, and hold cheap the strain.

<sup>218</sup> "purity" is connected to "St." by use of a large caret; a similar connection is indicated between "pride" and "lucifer".

<sup>219</sup> "It...battle" is possibly an afterthought, as it appears in the manuscript squeezed between two lines.

<sup>220</sup> "Milton seems to sing for the mad, for the angels, and for the devils."

And surely they were better reading than Remysch. DO  
people read them now?  
I doubt

Feb 1900

f204v

[blank sheet with letterhead]

f205

April 28 1900

10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

O guard us, guide us, keep us, find us  
For we have no friend but Thee [footnote in MS reads:  
O help us, guide us[,] keep us feed us. For we have no  
help but Thee.]  
Yet possessing every blessing  
If our God our Father be

Yet feed us

f206

May/1900

10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

O holy, blessed & glorious Father, do Thou Thy holy  
Will  
I will lie still  
I will not stir, lest I forsake Thy arm or break the  
charm which holds<sup>221</sup> me, clinging to my Father's  
breast  
In perfect rest.

[in these times when there is "unfortunately" "no  
persecution" *restful solitude* with God

f207

May 19th  
10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

My life was not painful but tiresome.  
To do the same things as our seniors did day by

---

<sup>221</sup> "lulls" is superscripted above "holds"; both are  
intact.

It was not sympathy that failed us but common sense & principle.

I never had a happy moment till I went into Hospital life I never had an unhappy moment (f208 blank, f208v)

2

after.

My mother was so afraid of my hearing indecencies. I had heard more indecencies from girls the daughters of her Evangelical friends when I had to do hostess in the nursery than I ever did in all my Hospital life.

f209

May 21 1901  
10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

Gen 1.1 God created the heaven & the earth  
Gen 28.17 This is the gate of heaven  
Ex 20.11 The Lord made heaven & earth  
Deut X 14 The heaven & the heaven of heavens are the Lord's  
II Samuel XXII 8 Then the earth shook & trembled. The foundations of heaven moved & shook Because he was wroth  
II Chronicles II.6 who is able to build Him a house? Seeing the heaven & the heaven of heavens cannot contain him  
II Kings XIX.15. Thou hast made heaven & earth (f210)  
Job XX 27 The heaven shall reveal his iniquity. And the earth shall rise up against Him  
" XXII 12 Is not God in the height of heaven?  
XXVI 11 The pillars of heaven trembled [sic] & are astonished at His reproof.  
XXXVIII 33. Knowest Thou the ordinances of heaven?  
Psalms XX.6 He will hear him from His holy heaven.  
LXIX.34. Let the heaven & earth praise Him.  
LXXVII 18 The voice of Thy thunder was in the heaven  
LXI 21<sup>222</sup> And hath given them of the corn of heaven  
PS LXXXIX.6 Who in the heavens  
" CXXXVIII 13 His glory is above the earth & heaven

---

<sup>222</sup> Psalm 63 contains only 11 verses; the quotation she gives here appears in Ps 78:24: *And had rained down manna upon them to eat, and had given them of the corn of heaven.*

Jer. 31.13: And has stretched out the heaven by his  
 understanding  
 Daniel IV.15      And let it be wet with the dew of  
                          heaven  
 "                "    23      And a holy one coming down from heaven  
 "                "    25      And they shall wet Thee with the dew of  
                          heaven  
 "                "    33      And his body was wet with the dew of  
                          heaven

f211

Sometimes I wish I were dead. But then I remember  
 there will be even more people in the next world than  
 in this.  
 God help us when the weakness of our bodies is  
 sometimes able to subdue the strength of our souls

f212

So help me God.  
 [On]ly to take the work offered me  
 to do it as well as I can  
 Not to keep on watching with intense anxiety  
 & rehearsing to myself what I ought to have done or  
 what ought to be done next "not by violent exertions  
 but by deeper

f213

I can't tell you the horror & dread that was upon me  
 about my work  
                          David

Good work is seated upon worries & not upon smoothness.  
 And worries seat us upon the Rock where alone is our  
 help.  
 She must be a happy woman or an unhappy woman who has  
 never felt that "horror & dread".  
 How often have I felt it  
 but horror & dread put one in the Fort.  
 Then that is the "Fort" we have to "hold for He is  
 coming".  
 And she must be an unhappy woman who never "holds that  
 Fort by God's grace".

f214 [blank]

f214v

I should dread above all other Eternities, to sing in

hell--with great fellowship in work--"to save the puir  
burning bodies"  
But to be that up with Dean--<sup>223</sup>&--<sup>224</sup>&--& Bishop --  
&--&--& Archb[isholp, not in hell but (say) in a  
country house--for 1000 years or)  
The spirit shrinks appalled at the thought  
I wonder Dante never thought of that--for 'eternal  
damnation'  
(vide Commentators for meaning of word 'eternal')

f215

As soon as rate-payers have power of rating, money-  
rates decrease & Death rates increase

1 Kitchen  
1 Back K.                      4 rooms  
1 Small Pantry  
2 Bed Rooms

f216

4

However, I may have failed in training others, O  
God, raise up those who will be better & wiser than I  
was to train others better than I did.

The weaker I am, the more be Thou their strength.

Let not our Nurses' hearts be hardened, now in the  
day of their success as hearts are hardened by being  
self-indulgent & self-interested.

Let us not see in their faces the look of  
mistress-ing[sic] self-willed authority--nor hear in  
their voices the tone of vanity & conceit.

Be Thou their guide!

f217

Irish bricklayer  
takes it royally  
C[oul]d[e]st thou not watch  
Eithe?            Matthew        dried up

---

<sup>223</sup> "Scott" is superscripted above the line following  
"Dean".

<sup>224</sup> An illegible word is superscripted over this line.

but generalised God  
had you done it on purpose to prove us right  
sh[oul]d have dismissed a Nurse  
cannot entrust the Nurses  
worst of all to go & fail  
celebrated your brother's death  
I am come le marché à la main to accept resignation  
good Pagan only wishing to do justice

f218

Thy Father's love @/6 per 100  
Card -Consider Him that endured  
" Stand up for Jesus 3/per 1000  
At Home  
" Who is Right? 3/per 1000  
God says To-day  
Th. D.

Manchester Y.M.C.A. 56 Peter St. Manchester

f219 [blank]

f219v

What sh[ould] we do except for our Father's love  
lose [footnote in MS reads: taking his medicine glass]  
he studied Jesus died that's the Physician isn't it?  
better to die & be at rest than to live

2 o'clock -day he died  
When we go back  
I shall do my duty & then ask leave  
tell her to fear God till I come  
he lay & thought

So mild & thankful so well behaved  
tell her<sup>225</sup> I'm better  
very well

I was such a novice My mind rose I served up  
I waded through with my wages my first wages to  
buy my mother a cap

he was very thoughtful, he would lie & study

---

<sup>225</sup> "Miss N" is superscripted above "her".

When I go into a house I ask God's blessing upon what  
I'm going to do

f220

My Novel Vol III Part IV  
Sermon  
Bear ye one another's burdens [Galatians 6:2]  
(good Samaritans)  
to learning of Levite  
doctrine of priest  
[Chris]t deigns not to allude  
the 'loathed Samaritan'  
who had 'sympathy'  
What to us are now priest & Levite?

Middlemarch  
unsurpassed talent in literary craft essentially  
ignoble to disdain in her art the duties, interests,  
aspirations, ideals of humanity & addict itself purely  
to failures in ideal  
1 Octavia Hill to every street w[oul]d regenerate  
London

And I must request that you will not repeat such an  
observation  
[Mr. Lowe<sup>226</sup>

f221

The Pilgrim's Progress to Confirmation

First to choose whom I will serve remembering that I  
may grow too hard to do it in old age  
& to put away strange Gods--that is ways & habits &  
things that have power over me & keep me away from Him

Then: old wrong things may again get power over me, &  
I ask God out of His own loving-kindness & for His own  
sake, not because I am good: to deliver me from them,  
"for they are great"

f222

---

<sup>226</sup> Possibly Robert Lowe (1822-1892), Liberal member of  
Parliament. Lowe opposed the extension of education and  
suffrage.

gentleness & forbearance: that spirit alone gives power. May it be ours:

with all our minds:<sup>227</sup> for God loves a business-like woman: He is so orderly & business-like Himself: He would have us shew method in our work--like Him. For what is His Law, methodical & regular to the utmost nicety of detail, whether in making a grain of Oxide or in the movements of the Heavens but method carried to its perfect form: (f222v) business in its perfection: so let us be business like as He is:

Livingstone: true greatness

Be ye perfect as your Father &c in the smallest trifle or nicest detail as in the gentle spirit of the whole

f223

Herb[er]t:  
anxious

lest the work should not be well done: no: that it will be:

but lest it should not be discreetly done: so as to secure the greatest good:

for the glory of God & not our own: God is so silent. In this way people of half the talent often get more good done than people of twice the talent who go their own way: & assert themselves: & not God: God never asserts Himself.

He puts His own sayings into other people's mouths: how much prudence, how much reserve (zeal is not enough) necessary not to be strong where you ought to be weak: not to be weak where you ought to be strong.

f224

Aug 18

A[rmy] M[edical] D[epartment] ,  
Mrs. Deible  
Miss Stewart

God undertakes to work joy in heaven  
Ananias & Sapphira [Acts 5]

Thy Victory O Lord not mine

---

<sup>227</sup> "[W]ith all our Hearts" and "with all our minds" is in reference to Mark 12.



I always bless God that I have seen soldiers among the risks of war--their comradeship, their literal following of Christ in laying down their lives for each other. Many lives have been lost to my knowledge by their rushing back when out of danger themselves to fetch in a wounded comrade. This cannot be done in peace but "greater things than this shall ye do". [cf. John 5:20, 14:12] Now, now save the spiritual<sup>228</sup> lives of one another. It is more difficult to behave like true soldiers of God in peace than in war

f226

p. 431 Vol IV.  
Benedict was turned away by temptation from the Convent--but recovered himself. My temptation was towards the Convent--but I was recovered by God for the Crimea & lay work.

single combat led by God  
hermit

Benedict--scarce food  
I " "

Benedict--"whatever they take a fancy to they call holy--the unlawful is that to which they feel no temptation"

f227 [blank]

f227v

2

single combat--God himself being their aid against the sins of the flesh & thoughts of evil

f228

How am I to tell what is God's will for the little things of every day in order that I may obey it? God is always speaking in the circumstances of our every day life if we will but listen & honestly ask Him "Lord

---

<sup>228</sup> "immortal" is superscripted above "spiritual".

The little housemaid who modestly said in answer to a question asked her in class that she thought she had grace, when asked why she thought so, truly answered: Because I sweep under the mats.

What is grace?

So the old hymn says:  
Who sweeps a room as by His laws makes that & the  
action thine.

f229 [blank]

f229v

The circumstances of our every day life are God's  
voice in another way

If people round us are rather aggravating, that is a  
call to us for patience & self-control & not to be  
aggravating in return.

Do I obey that call?

f230

O let me then at length be taught  
What I am still so slow to learn  
That God is love & changeth not  
Nor knows the shadow of a turn

---

Sweet truth & easy to repeat  
But when my faith is sharply tried  
I find myself a learner yet  
Uncertain, slow & apt to slide

---

But oh my God one look from Thee  
Subdues the disobedient will  
Drives doubt & discontent away  
And Thy rebellious worm is still

---

Thou art as ready to forgive  
As I am ready to repine

T[urn] O[ver]

(f231) 4th Verse

Thou art as ready to forgive  
As I am ready to repine  
Thou therefore all the praise receive  
Be shame & self abhorrence mine

f231v

10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE, W.

A Bath  
Institute by & by  
Secretary Mr. Burton  
£100

Co-op Nurses

f232

Leeds

Oh teach health, teach health, teach health, to rich & poor, to educated. & if there be any uneducated oh teach it all the more--to men--to women especially--to mothers, to young mothers especially--the old ones do not realize that they have any responsibility for the health of their children

Health comes before Greek & grammar. The lecture, the book is only the beginning. It seems to be of no use telling (f233) the young ones--& here is what elementary literary education is good for if followed up by *practical application*--are much readier to take it in

children--Bengal

Teach the young mothers both before & after the birth of their children

Mr. Jowett--he might have lived for years  
R. sad & terrible losses to the country.  
Shore  
examples--terrible examples

Christ is not a doctrine not a lecture but a life  
What is life? What inspires the things we feel & think  
& say & do every day

Medical Students I can remember  
heart & liver

f234

Inkermann

How much a few can do!  
It is always the minority that works the great reforms--  
-never the majority.

---

<sup>229</sup> Possibly Mr. J.P. Burton, headmaster of the school at Lea Hurst established by the Nightingale family.

government, as to reconcile the "survival of the fittest" with Xtianity (i.e. the goodness of God)

f235

Signs of the moral gov[ernmen]t of God. After forgiveness the working out "to the uttermost farthing" [Luke 12:59] of consequences.  
Yet leading right

f236

traces he finds of God's moral gov[ernmen]t  
I mean by God's moral gov[ernmen]t or this particular branch of it His bringing good out of evil--of the highest qualities evil an essential.  
Beatitudes. Evil brings its own consequences but it also brings the highest good. The reform of Nursing--Hungarian War

---

but there again bring the highest good

Personal Recollections

Historical                      Hungary                      Nursing  
He makes use of people the most unlikely

---

I should so have liked to see Mr Gardiner[.] When I saw him, I was too ill to ask him. I wanted to ask him about the moral gov[ernmen]t of God.

I have nearly all my life cared about this.  
The great object in studying history is, is it not? to find out what we can about it from this. History is the biography of God.

Prof Mohl<sup>230</sup> the greatest philosopher teaching all the Eastern languages to write a history of God.

To hear from a man like Mr. Gardiner (whom probably I shall

never see again) what

f236v [blank except for date in upper right-and corner]

MS 1894

f237

10, SOUTH STREET,  
PARK LANE.W.

---

<sup>230</sup> For more on Prof. Mohl, see Introduction p.17.

law instead

Religion is not logic

M. Mohl<sup>231</sup>

---

'Is there a God in London? No: else why all this evil in London?'

'But it's evil that calls out the highest good. There could be no good without evil. 'Wherever there's evil, as a foreigner (f238) said to me, you find something to cure it on foot, or to avert it. There can be no good without evil. There can be no evil without good.

If it's the Devil that has made evil, he must have been greatly deceived, he must be a fool for he's created the highest good: he has created no end of good

f239

The good Shepherd does not *drive* His sheep & with a dog.

He goes first before them & leads them

f240

Gertrude [the Great]<sup>232</sup>

"Remember life is God's greatest gift to us for which we must be thankful every *moment* & no sorrow however great must make us forget this & no darkness make us not use this greatest gift to the utmost power of good within us." I am always feeling how *much* not how *little* has been given to me *in all the beautiful great loveable people* I have known in my life. *The world has been made better by so many* & we are left behind to keep (240v) their lines of light still bright by our memory & knowledge of them

f241

"I believe in God". What does that mean? Unless it is a belief which governs our whole life, it means nothing at all. If it does not work a change in our affections & motives in our characters, it means nothing; it is just a word rattled off our tongues. "Thou believest

---

<sup>231</sup> See fn.230.

<sup>232</sup> See above St. Catherine in f.8 n.90.

Devils also believe." [James 2:19] "to believe in God truly is not possible, unless we are different in behaviour different in every relation of life from what we should be if we did not believe in God--to be righteous, unselfish..faithful, hopeful--to be trustful amid all the troubles of life because they are part of the Father Almighty's education of His children. This is to believe in God, to believe in truth, righteousness mercy and love, to be followed through every extremity.

The above appears to be a lesson for a young servant, whose version of what the Creed teaches us is pencilled above. With 1894 papers. Damaged.<sup>233</sup>

f242

Lines often repeated by F. Nightingale in her latter years. (Jotted down by E.F.B.)

---

"Fair, bright & sweet is Morn  
When daylight newly born  
Breaks with unearthly glory on the vision;  
But Eve to me is fraught  
With ? celestial thought  
And purer touches of immortal being."

---

"Sol pauses on the hill  
The [blank] hour of darkness lingers still  
But sad his light to -- - eyes  
And dark the mountain once delightful dies  
Gloom on the lovely land he seems to pour  
The land where Phoebus never groan'd before."

---

"Elle ne voulait m'aimer  
Et je ne l'aimais pas  
J'en aurai du regrets  
Mais je n'en mourrai pas"!

---

Also Shelley's "Lament"  
& lines from Milton & many hymns especially 2 verses  
from Cowper's Hymn 246<sup>234</sup> Ancient & Modern.

"Have we no words? Ah, think again,

---

<sup>233</sup> This note is written in a different hand, apparently copied from Nightingale's notes.

<sup>234</sup> William Cowper (1731-1800) English poet and hymnist. These lines are the fifth and sixth verses of hymn 246. See Frost, 1962.

And fill our fellow-creature's ear  
With the sad tale of all our care.

Were half the breath thus vainly spent  
To Heaven in supplication sent,  
Our cheerful song would oftener be  
"Hear what the Lord hath done for me."

1. "1867?" in a second hand, written in ink; "?" appears in MS.
- a. A horizontal line is drawn across the page between this line and the line following.
- b. Folio not numbered in MS.
- c. The two right-side braces represent one large right-side brace, encompassing: "at Logan's...Ap 2/67".
- d. "God's government...subject of all)" appears upside-down at bottom of page.
- e. The two left-side braces represent one large left-side brace, encompassing both lines.
- f. The page has been cut on the right side; the final words of the last two lines are missing.
- a. "solemnly" written above "renounce"; entered by caret.
- b. Round brackets appear in MS.
- c. "was" entered, in ink, above "have".
- d. "29-30 duty = will of our Father in heaven" inserted, in ink, directly below "satisfaction (complacency)".
- e. Round brackets appear in MS.
- f. The two left-side braces represent one large left-side brace, encompassing both words.
- g. A vertical line has been drawn down the centre of this page. "Fritz Fleidner...walk in love.]" appears on the left, while "He restoreth...from these" is written on the right half of the page.
- h. Square brackets appear in MS; the entire entry is in a different hand.
- i. "at last" entered by caret.
- j. Round brackets appear in MS.
- k. Square brackets appear in MS.



- m. This line and the line previous appear in the centre of the envelope, above "Miss. F. Nightingale".
- n. "O God...Lizzie" is written over top of the rest of the address.
- o. "therefore" appears in MS as three dots.
- p. "Miss Masson...order" written on a slant across top of page; appears to be an addition to the note.
- q. A vertical line is drawn down left side of page, encompassing "The R[oman]...her influence"; similarly, a second line encloses "2. it is...Institution".
- r. A left side brace and a straight line appear in MS beside "heterdoxy...fault".
- s. "Salvation" written in enlarged, lower-case letters.
- t. Large, square bracket appears to left of, and encompasses "Luke xxiii...John xix 25-30".
- u. The two left-side braces represent one large left-side brace, encompassing both lines.
- v. "Lea Hurst...breach" bracketed on left side using a line squared at top and bottom.
- w. "Light...shut it out" appears to have been added later, and is squeezed between two lines.
- x. The two left-side braces represent one large left-side brace, encompassing both lines.
- y. The three braces represent one long, wavy line, encompassing "Let me...holy comfort".
- z. "While...away" and "And...generation?" written beside each other; these are clearly two separate thoughts.
- aa. A line is drawn across the page at this point.
- bb. "very" entered by caret.
- cc. Square brackets appear in MS; "- 90" has been overscored.
- dd. A horizontal line is drawn across page here, separating text from footnote.

faith".

ff. Both sets of brackets in this line appear in MS.

gg. F.112 not numbered.

hh."O Gd...with me" is written at a forty-five degree angle across the bottom right corner, crowded in as though it were an afterthought.

ii."Child...return?" is written across the top of the page, followed by a large space; the left side of this space contains the name and address indicated here, and the rest of the note continues on the bottom half of the page.

jj. Two vertical lines are drawn between these two phrases.

kk. A wavy line runs from "Bexhill" down and around to "St. Lucifer".

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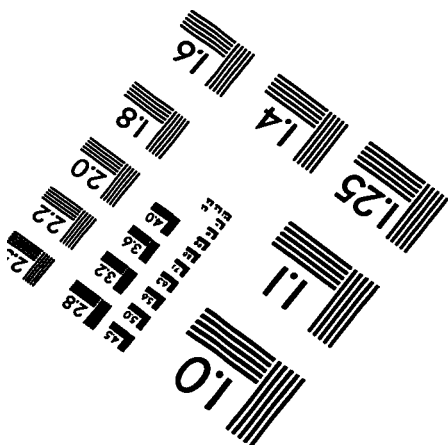
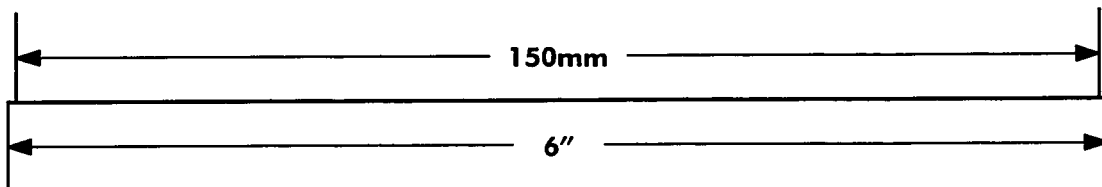
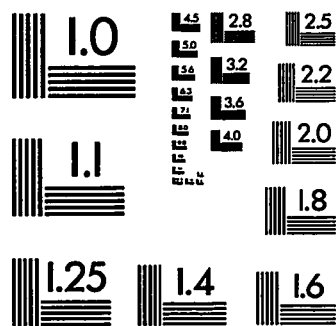
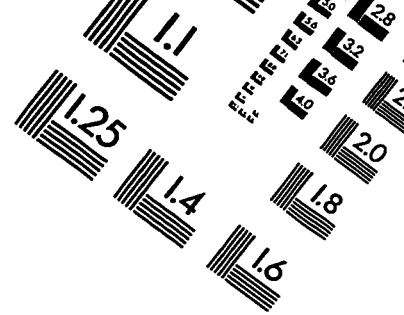
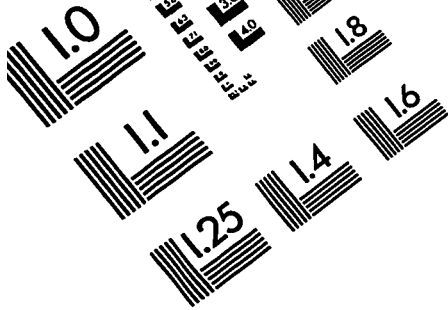
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